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RURAL DEVELOPMENT PARTICIPATION: A CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF PEOPLE'S PARTICIPATION IN A VOCATIONAL TRAINING PROJECT IN NORTHERN THAILAND

BY

SUVIT PICHAYASATHIT ©

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN

INTERNATIONAL/INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION
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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled RURAL DEVELOPMENT PARTICIPATION: A CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF PEOPLE'S PARTICIPATION IN A VOCATIONAL TRAINING PROJECT IN NORTHERN THAILAND submitted by SUVIT PICHAYASATHIT in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY in INTERNATIONAL/INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION.

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DEDICATION

To the memory of:

My father who gave me life;
And
My mother who gave me soul, and
strived her best for my upbringing.

ABSTRACT

The concept of people's participation has been emphasized in most rural development projects, as participation has been assumed to benefit the rural poor. However, this assumption has not been closely examined to determine if the rural poor have actually benefited from project participation. The review of the literature on people's participation has resulted in a unique presentation of the significant views of participation into two competing paradigms: the liberal and radical. The paradigms are, then, used as theoretical frameworks for the investigation.

This ethnographic case study is a comprehensive examination in that it addresses not only why people do or do not participate, but who the beneficiaries are, the participants' role in the decision-making process, and the consequences of their participation. The study specifically investigates the people's participation in SNOTRE, a vocational training project in Northern Thailand. Then, it examines which paradigm of participation is reflected by the practice of people's participation in the project activities.

Document analysis, participant observation and unstructured interviews were the main methods for data collection. The researcher spent seven months collecting data in Salt Lick Village, Chiangrai Province, Thailand. The study interviewed 52 informants, 32 were project participants and 20 were non-participants.

The findings reveals that: the majority of project participants were well-off farmers, where as the disadvantaged were disproportionately involved in project activities; most of the beneficiaries, the fund recipients in particular, were the local elite and wealthy farmers; and most of the project activities were primarily planned and organized by NFE workers, and people did not actually have a decisive role in the decision-making process.

Several reasons were mentioned as factors influencing people's participation and non-participation, however, the main factor was an economic reason. There was no attempt to empower people in the participatory process. Although the project resulted in a small degree of economic, social and personal development, the effect was minimal and within a narrow scope. The project did create an unexpected political effect. A gradual political awareness became apparent based on the people's perception of unfair allocation of project funds.

An analysis of the findings reveals that the liberal view of people's participation was adopted in the SNOTRE project's implementation. The study suggests theoretical and policy implications for the practice of people's participation in rural development programs. In addition, recommendations for future research are delineated.

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ABBREVIATIONS

CD = Community Development
DNFE = Department of Nonformal Education
NFE = Nonformal Education
NRNFEC = Northern Regional Nonformal Education Center
MTTS = Mobile Trade Training School
PNFEC = Provincial Nonformal Education Center
SNOTRE = The Strengthening of Nonformal Occupational Training for Rural Employment
VH = Village Head

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

National development strategies reflect the development paradigm a country has adopted. Since World War II, the modernization paradigm has been adopted as a model of development in most Third World countries, including Thailand. The past development efforts of Thailand, following the modernization theory, focused fundamentally on economic growth by placing emphasis on development of infrastructures and urban industrialization. Although the emphasis on economic growth, through import-substitution during 1960s, and export-oriented industrialization in 1970s and 1980s, has increased an average growth of 7% during the past three decades, the growth has not "trickled down" to the rural sectors. This has led to an increase in income disparities between the urban and rural areas.

The plight of rural people did not gain much attention until the 1980s when there was a shift of emphasis to rural development. Henceforth, the issue of rural development has been emphasized in development planning. Subsequently, people's participation, as one of the main ingredients in rural development, turned out to be a key element in most development efforts aiming towards rural development in Thailand. Many development projects claim to have adopted and implemented the notion of people's participation. In reality, the application of the notion has been superficial.

This Chapter discusses rural development in Thailand. Development strategies, NGOs' approaches to development, and the problem of implementing people's participation in rural development projects are presented respectively.

Development in Thailand

Attempts towards the modernization of Thailand were first undertaken in the reign of King Rama V (1868-1910) when the King perceived the threat of Western imperialism and a need for "modernization." During this period, several schemes for social, economic and political reforms were begun (Wyatt, 1969; Watson, 1980). Since then, especially after the revolution to constitutional monarchy in 1932, the development of Thailand has been in a slow process. One of the main reasons is that there have been several coups d'état. Most of the time, governments were under control of a military dictatorship and a small ruling class, who sought to protect their vested interest and the status quo. Most governments were short-lived, and focused chiefly on their economic and political power instead of the welfare of the nation's population (Thiravakin, 1987; Heim, et al., 1986; Mingmaneenakin, 1988). That is why after a period of 60 years of movement towards democratic rule, Thailand's democracy is just at its beginning stage. Similarly, in spite of adopting the modernization model of development, the nation seems to have undergone "modernization without development" (Jacobs, 1971).

After the 1932 revolution, the development of the nation was not systematically planned until 1961, when the first national economic development plan was developed. The first plan (1961-1966) was based on a suggestion from the World Bank, and was implemented according to the modernization model of development. The emphasis of this plan was solely economic growth, particularly in the area of infrastructural development, namely construction of roads, irrigation, and electricity (Unakul, 1987). The second plan (1967-1971) continued the same emphasis on economic growth, but also stressed import-substitution industrialization. The benefits of development plans, however, did not contribute much to the well-being of rural people. Instead, the emphasis on industrialization, urbanization, and construction of infrastructures provided better opportunities for the rich to have greater access to the rural sectors for surplus extraction (Frank, 1969). That is, the benefits of early planned development had not actually reached the rural poor.

After ten years of planned development, the disparities between rural and urban societies increased. In the third plan, it was recognized that more attention had to be paid to the social aspects. The term "social," then, was added to the third National Economic and Social Development (NESD) plan (1972-1976). This plan aimed to expand public services to the rural sector. The nature of the development focus, however, was still mainly in economic aspects. The same emphasis was carried to the fourth NESD plan (Unakul, 1987; Mingmaneenakin, 1988).

In terms of economic growth, these development plans have achieved quite a considerable level. The growth rate of each NESD plan, from the first to the fourth plans, was 8%, 7.5%, 6.2% and 7.1% respectively (Unakul, 1987). However, the contribution of economic growth concentrated solely in the urban sectors, whereas the living conditions of rural farmers remained unchanged, and for some, even worse. The urban population, particularly in Bangkok, has received the largest share of the fruits of Thailand's economic development (Robinson, et al., 1991).

A strong critique of this approach of development is from Sivaraksa (1986, p.5) who articulates that "the so-called 'progress' hides the fact that the poor are becoming worse off than before, since the rich are reaping most of the benefit out of a short-term economic prosperity." After two decades of the modernization approach to development, it is evident that economic growth did not "trickle down" to the rural sectors (Ketudat, 1990; Phiphatseritham, 1988; Rabibhadana, 1982).

The situation became worse when the land which used to belong to the peasants themselves had been transferred to the rich merchants and foreign corporations. The consequence of economic growth has brought about increasing polarization between the rich and the poor. The share of the top 20 percent of the population in total income increased from 49.26% in 1976 to 56.63% 1985, while the share of the bottom 20 percent dropped from 6% to 4.55% in the same period (Charoenloet, 1991; Robinson, et al., 1991).

The government observed these economic disparities and realized that there was a need for a shift of emphasis in development strategy. At the same time, international agencies, and the World Bank in particular, recommended that the government place greater emphasis on "rural development." In the fifth NESD plan (1982-1986), besides the emphasis on economic growth through export-oriented industrialization, a stress was also placed on "rural development" as one of the key goals to achieve. The same emphasis was carried over to the sixth NESD plan (1987-1991). Along with the stress on rural development has been the concept of people's participation, which currently is emphasized in most development projects in Thailand.

Rural Development Strategies

In the past, attempts towards improvement of the living conditions of the rural people have been pursued under several "rural development" strategies, including the introduction of land reform. Although land reform was initiated, the implementation has been in a very narrow range. In practice, the focus has been to restrict the transfer of land in some designated areas, rather than on the allocation of land to the poor people. Other strategies that have been implemented in Thailand are agricultural extension; community development; integrated rural development; nonformal education, and fulfilment of basic needs (Heim et al., 1986, Coombs and Ahmed, 1974).

1) The Agricultural Extension Strategy. The objectives of the agricultural extension

strategy are to increase farmers' production and improve rural family life by teaching home economics to women, and creating farmer youth clubs. The underlying thrust of this approach is the adoption of an innovative model which has several stages: creating awareness, achieving interest, trial, evaluation, and adoption (Rogers, 1984). This approach aims to achieve multiple effects through progressive farmers. The Department of Agricultural Extension, Ministry of Agriculture, adopted this strategy in the 1950s. In 1976, this strategy was replaced by the Training and Visiting (T&V) system.

2) The Community Development Strategy. This strategy was adopted in the 1950s and is still active. The strategy is based on the notion that no government can afford to provide team technicians in all rural communities. Therefore, the multi-purpose development worker was created to help identify the community's felt needs, organize, and mobilize people towards development action (Brokensha and Hodge, 1969; Gow and Vansant, 1983). The Department of Community Development is the main agency that organizes and coordinates development activities in rural areas. These activities are in areas of human resource development, establishment of local organizations, health and hygiene, and promotion of democracy. Currently, development workers from the CD department function and work in every sub-district. In 1991, staff members at all levels of this department comprised 7,567 persons (Department of Community Development, 1991, p.28).

3) The Integrated Rural Development Strategy (IRD). This approach aims to achieve several objectives, namely higher production, more employment, and more equal income distribution. It is a multi-sectoral program designed to attain socio-economic integration of the various income groups of a community (Heim, et al, 1986; Sing and Deb, 1985). The implementation of IRD is based at the local level because it requires local initiatives, reactions, and response to institutional and administrative systems. At the

regional level, the Northern Region Agricultural Development Center in Chiangmai was established in 1973 to boost integrated rural development in the northern region. To support the implementation of integrated rural development in this region, the Center set up a training center, laboratories, a field station and liaison offices for the departments concerned.

4) The Nonformal Education Strategy. This strategy was proposed by Coombs and Ahmed (1974) to the World Bank as a promising strategy for rural development. A part of their study was about the Mobile Trade Training Schools (MTTS) in Thailand. They suggested that, through nonformal education, people outside school systems in rural areas could be reached by several NFE programs which could help develop human resources, and eventually lead to rural development. The emphasis of nonformal education for rural development in Thailand can be seen from the promotion of the Adult Education Division to the Department of Nonformal Education (DNFE), the establishment of five Regional Nonformal Education Centers (RNFECs), and Provincial Nonformal Education Centers (PNFECs) in all provinces. Currently there are five additional vocational training centers along the borders connecting Thailand and Burma, Laos, and Kampuchea. Nonformal Education Centers at the district level were also set up in 1991 and aimed to reach more people in rural sectors. At the *Tambon* (sub-district) level, there are NFE teachers organizing various types of NFE programs in areas related to basic education, information services, and vocational training for rural people. (Sunanchai, 1989).

5) The Basic Needs Strategy. It is a development strategy oriented towards satisfying the basic needs of the poorest sections of the community. The strategy was introduced by the World Bank and the International Labour Organization (World Bank, 1975; ILO, 1976). Eight basic minimum needs have been identified as basic levels that each family and community should attempt to achieve. Measurement of the basic

minimum needs was based on 32 indicators developed for rural Thai communities (Ministry of Public Health, 1986). Currently most development projects have centered the contents of their development activities around the basic minimum needs in areas related to their work.

These strategies, in line with the modernization paradigm of development, have proved to be less than effective. Only recently some of these strategies have changed their approach and orientation in working with the rural people. There are several reasons why development strategies in the past were less effective: (1) development projects were centrally designed and "top-down" in nature; (2) development workers often asked or ordered people to be involved in development without clear explanation; (3) most of the public services or materials distributed were free of charge which led to people being used to receive "free" materials and services; (4) government officials were used to a role of givers or helpers; and (5) people did not have an opportunity to plan, implement and make decision regarding the development process (Mingmaneenakin, 1988, p.158-160; Rigg, 1991; Turton, 1987; Heim, et al., 1986). This paternalistic approach to development causes people to be dependent on government officials instead of becoming self-reliant. During the early development plans, involvement of people in development activities was not emphasized. Government officials often acted as givers and providers of development for the people. This led to the concept that development was something done by the government. Rural people were treated as recipients of development and had a passive role, generally in the development processes (Turton, 1987; Heim, et al., 1986).

NGOs' Approaches in Rural Development Participation

While most state-initiated projects treat rural people as mere recipients of development, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), on the other hand, work closely with rural people. Instead of using the "top-down" approach, the NGOs' approach is more flexible and "bottom-up" in nature. The work of many NGOs is planned and implemented directly with local people via local change agents. These NGOs have a different focus and approach in their work. In general, development schemes performed by NGOs cover a wide range of activities, such as mixed farming, local handicrafts, community revolving funds, community forest, food production, irrigation and potable water development, nonformal education and training, health and sanitation, rice banks, saving groups, cooperative shops, youth groups, and women groups (Heim, et al., 1986, p.125, Nakabutara, 1990). To run these activities, most NGOs have adopted a community-based implementation strategy by recruiting local villagers as change agents to involve the people in development activities. The concept of people's participation is actively employed by NGOs focusing on rural development.

The roles of NGOs in rural development concentrate on the following aspects (FCNS, 1985).

1) Promotion of cooperation and local organizations. In fact, it is the NGOs that have initiated some type of cooperation, such as the "rice banks," "buffalo and cow banks," "money-saving groups," and "cooperative shops." These kinds of cooperatives were later adopted by several governmental agencies.

2) Training process. The purpose of training is to raise conscious awareness concerning occupational development, protection of people's rights, and utilization of public services among target groups.

3) Public services. Services are typically in areas related to the functions of each NGO, such as family planning, drinking water (rain-water jar), community revolving funds, and cooperative groups.

4) Information/publications. Information is geared towards both development

workers (e.g. "how to work with farmers") and the general public in areas related to occupational improvement, health, nutrition, and social problems.

5) New development models. The work in this area supports projects/activities such as the role of Buddhist monks in rural development, and the merits of rice donation to the poor.

Other concepts proposed for development are "social Buddhism" and "*wattanadham chumchon.*" The Buddhist concept of development, proposed by Sivaraksa (1986, p.74), suggests that we avoid gigantism, especially when dealing with machines which tend to control rather than to serve humans, and excessive greed which tends to cause destruction to nature. This concept of development prefers a middle path instead of being extremely immense and greedy. Development has to begin at an individual level through the practice of *Brahma Vihāra* (Four Sublime Abodes) comprising *mettā* (unbounded loving kindness), *karunā* (compassion), *muditā* (sympathetic joy), and *upekkhā* (equanimity). At the same time, human development should rest on the four *dhammas*, namely *danā* (sharing), *piyavācā* (pleasant speech), *atthacariyā* (constructive action), and *samānattatā* (equality).

According to this concept, the goal of development for Buddhist socialism would be equality, love, freedom, and liberation (Sivaraksa, 1986). The adoption of social Buddhism, however, is based on an individual practice. Most Buddhist monks emphasize these aspects in their preaching. If social Buddhism is widely promoted, Buddhist monks in rural communities would play an important role in human development.

Another concept applied by several NGOs is based on the notion of "*wattanadham chumchon*" or communal cultures (Nartsupha, 1988). According to this approach, development activities have to be congruous with local culture based on the political, social, and economic conditions. Development has to be from within the society thus people become teachers and development workers are learners (Thongprasan, 1983). Development based on this concept takes into account several principles: that people are subjects of development; that development activities must originate from what already exists in the community; that there should be integration of new and traditional culture to development activities where applicable; and that development should adopt a holistic approach in decision-making based upon socio-economic, religious, and human-relation dimensions (CCTD, 1990). One of the NGOs that adopts the notion of "*wattanadham chumchon*" is the Chiangmai Social Development Center. CSDC development activities in the villages are built around the nature of the people in the community and their "cultures," such as their "generosity," "self-reliance," industriousness," "honesty," and "social sacrifice" (CCTD, 1990, p.246-249).

One of the most successful and largest NGOs is the Population and Community Development Association (PDA). The PDA's approach is a "service delivery system" to farmers based on innovative incentive methods and commercialization. PDA volunteers have a supply of pills, condoms and household drugs. Their financial reward comes from the sale of contraceptives and drugs. The work of PDA in family planning is probably most well-known. Its work has made a great contribution to the reduction of the birth rate from 3.2% in 1970 to 1.7% in 1984 (Turton, 1987), and to approximately 1.4% today. During the past decades, NGOs have evolved and concentrated their development strategies in three main aspects: (1) community self-help and people's participation in development activities; (2) small-scale development based on indigenous and local wisdom as new strategies for community development; and (3) popular movements that protect people's rights and local resources in areas, such as community forest, land-holding rights, natural resources, and push forward the issues to government for policy implication and legal measures (Nakabutara, 1990, Panyakul, 1992).

In general, the NGOs' approach towards development has proved to be effective and flexible in dealing with immediate needs of rural people. Most staff workers are young, have initiative, and enthusiasm, with optimistic ideologies to work with rural people. The NGOs' development approach has proved to be quite effective. In fact, some of the NGO-initiated activities, such as "rice banks," "buffalo banks," and "cooperative shops" have been recognized and adopted by some government agencies. However, the NGOs' operational areas are very limited. Most NGOs depend mainly on budgets subsidized by international agencies; therefore, their operations are unstable and can be interrupted if donating agencies discontinue financial support. There is also frequent change in staff workers due to insecurity of the job. The result is a limitation for NGOs in the expansion of their work to cover a broader area (Mingmaneenakin, 1988; Hafner, 1987, Nakabutara, 1990).

Because of the limitation of NGOs's operational areas, albeit effective results, rural development has to rely mainly on government organizations. During recent years, many government organizations have changed the approach and focus of development from top-down to a more grassroots-oriented development. Currently, most development agencies claim that they have adopted the notion of people's participation in their development programs.

People's Participation in Rural Development

Early development plans have resulted in an average growth rate of 7%, but have not really changed the life of rural people. The assumption of capitalist economists that economic growth would trickle down has not proved to be valid. In fact, problems of poverty and income disparity have become so serious that they have created subsequent social problems such as, massive rural-urban migration, unemployment and underemployment, prostitution, crime, indebtedness, and landless farmers (Thiravakin, 1985).

When there was a shift of emphasis in development approach in the fifth NESD plan (1982-1986), people's participation received much greater consideration as an important element in the development process. Instead of focusing on the overall output and national income, this strategy contains five main features: (1) it gives top priority to the high poverty concentration areas; (2) it aims to satisfy the basic needs of people by providing basic public services; (3) it initiates people's self-help programs; (4) it focuses on poverty problems by emphasizing the use of locally available resources; and (5) it encourages maximum people's participation in development processes (NESDB, 1982).

Since the early 1980s, people's participation has come to the forefront in development milieu. As with the term "democracy," everyone is for "people's participation," or at any rate, no one admits to being against it (Turton, 1987, p.11). This principle was carried over to the sixth NESD plan (1987-1991), and even today. Government organizations, particularly the four main ministries, namely Ministry of Education, Ministry of Interior, Ministry of Agricultural and Cooperatives, and Ministry of Public Health, were encouraged to apply the notion of people's participation to their development programs. It was expected that such involvement of the people would eventually lead to self-reliance and sustainable development (NESDB, 1987; Mingmaneenakin, 1988).

In a broad sense, the introduction of people's participation in Thailand was based on a unique or isolated interpretation of each organization rather than consensus among development agencies. This has led to the variation between practice and policy concerning this concept. Although there is no official definition of the concept of people's participation, an examination of the literature in Thailand illustrates that the liberal concept of participation has been widely adopted. This is mainly because of the repressive nature of government, which tends to restrict radical thinking. Most Thai writers define participation as a process that involves people in development activities, organized by government agencies or by people themselves to achieve development goals. Only a few analysts such as Rabibhadana (1986) or organizations such as the Center for Public Health Policy Study (Hongvivatana, 1984) draw on a more radical vision of participation and refer to the need for control over resources and the decision-making process in development activities by the people themselves. In reality, implementation of the notion is so varied that the concept of people's participation is, often, interpreted differently by each organization.

Despite support by the State and governmental organizations, the implementation of people's participation in Thailand has not gone much beyond the rhetorical level. This has created not only the problem of implementation, but doubt concerning the effectiveness of people's participation, that is, its ability to contribute to rural development. To find out more about this aspect, an examination of the implementation of people's participation is needed before valid conclusions can be made.

Statement of the Problem

Since rural development and people's participation are advocated by the government, most developmental organizations do not hesitate to include these notions in their working strategies. The Department of Non-Formal Education (DNFE), Ministry of Education, is one of the organizations advocating involvement of the people in its programs. In 1988, DNFE proposed a project titled "Strengthening of Nonformal Occupational Training for Rural Employment" (SNOTRE) to UNDP for financial support. The project was approved and has been implemented on an experimental basis. The project aimed to provide occupational training and subsequent income-generating activities for rural people. The project was designed and implemented in four provinces, one in each geographical region of Thailand. The experimental period ran from mid-1989 to the end of 1991.

The expectation was that the results of the experiment would be used as a model for the expansion of activities to other areas in the regions. The key strategy was to involve the target people in project activities, and the decision-making processes. It was the belief that people's participation in project activities would lead to the effectiveness of the project, and thus to the improvement of living conditions of rural people. The actual effect of the project, whether it would be as expected, is of interest.

The main issue is if people's participation is advocated, how can development workers get the target group involved in the projects? Which group of people participate in development activities? What are their reasons for participation? For those who do not participate, what are their reasons? Is it because of economic reasons? Is it because they are not given a chance to participate, or because they are not treated fairly by development workers? These guesses are not valid unless the truth is sought from the marginalized people themselves.

Therefore, the primary focus of this study is threefold: the "determinants" of participation and non-participation of people in the project, the group of people that "benefit" from the project, and the "effect" of participation - whether it leads to self-employment or an income increase as a result of the project "income-generating" activities. An understanding of who participate, for what reasons and with what effects would be helpful in modification of project strategies and implementation. It is also useful in the future planning of projects to employ strategies that encourage people's participation.

A clear understanding of these issues would be helpful in shaping project strategies; planning project expansion in other provinces; and setting policy implications of DNFE to incorporate the notion of people's participation in other NFE activities in the future.

Research Questions

This study examines the context of people's participation through a case study of the SNOTRE project in northern Thailand. The central concern is the beneficiaries of the project, and factors that influence or impede people's participation in the project, the people's role in the project activities, and the effects of people's participation. Specific questions that this study addresses are:

1) What is the nature of the SNOTRE project, and what are the project's assumptions in employing people's participation in its activities?

2) What types of program activities have been conducted in the target village, and what is the implementation process?

3) What group of people actually benefit from the notion of people's participation employed by the project, and from the project's activities?

4) In what kind of activities do people participate? To what extent do they participate in the decision-making process and in project activities?

5) What are the key factors affecting participation, or non-participation of inhabitants of the village in project activities?

6) What are the social, economic and political consequences of people's participation in the project?

7) What paradigm of development does this project reflect?

Significance of the Study

While most development activities claim that there was participation of local people in the development process, in reality, they seldom investigated the actual process, and how the notion of involvement was implemented.- This study expects to provide useful information concerning some aspects of people's participation that has rarely been intensively examined in other NFE programs. At the immediate level, the data obtained from this study would provide PNFEC staff workers with feedback about the project activities. The study would provide an understanding of the practice of people's participation regarding who actually benefits, the determinants that affect their participation and the effect of their involvement in the SNOTRE project activities. This would not only help shape subsequent activities in the village and the direction of the project's expansion phase, but also provide policy-makers and program planners in DNFE with first-hand information that could be useful in designing future programs to adopt the practice of people's participation.

The findings of this study may also be useful to other organizations in Thailand and other developing countries that apply the concept of people's participation in development activities. The strength and weakness of this study may serve as lessons from which future researchers can learn.

In summary, the significance of this study lies in the fact that it will not only shed some light on the implementation of the SNOTRE project, but also contribute to the theoretical framework of people's participation in rural development. In addition, the study will lead to some issues that need to be further investigated, and will help make it possible for other researchers to explore cross-cultural comparisons and generalizations.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE AND RESEARCH

There are several ways to deal with the problem of rural poverty. These approaches relate to the paradigm of development a nation has adopted. To understand the relationship between the development paradigm and the problem of poverty, this study focuses on rural development, particulary the issue of people's participation in development activities. The first part of the paper reviews development paradigms: modernization and dependency theories, and their explanations of development and underdevelopment in Third World countries. Then, a link is established between these two competing paradigms in relation to rural development efforts. Finally, there is a discussion of people's participation in rural development, and the theoretical framework underpinning the notion. The second part of the study discusses studies and research on people's participation, the findings, and areas needed for further investigation.

Development and Underdevelopment

Underdevelopment is a common phenomenon that exists in most parts of the world, and is regarded as an undesirable condition that has to be eradicated. Many countries, the Third World in particular, have tried various means and approaches to tackle this unwanted situation. Still, underdevelopment prevails. Underdevelopment is a key characteristic of Third World countries. Most countries in the world are classified as "Third World" countries; only a few are classified as "developed" countries. The United Nations classified 144 of its members as Third World countries, 43 of which are categorized as the "poorest countries" (Todaro, 1989). Similarly, The Organization of

Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) classifies 159 Third World nations into 62 "low income" countries, 73 "middle income" countries, 11 newly industrializing countries, and 13 members of the OPEC (Todaro, 1989, p.14). The rest, comprising a few countries in North America, most European countries and Japan are classified as advanced industrialized countries. Alarmingly, the Santiago Declaration of Third World Economists in 1973 reports that Third World countries comprise 77 percent of the world population, but possess only 22 percent of the world's income.

Both industrialized and Third World countries have undergone a development process for centuries, or in some cases, decades. Still, it seems that the development of these two groups of countries are moving in opposite directions. The advanced industrialized countries are becoming more developed, while the majority of the Third World countries are falling further behind.

Although there are different characteristics among Third World countries, there are some aspects that they share in common. Brewer (1980) illustrates some typical characteristics that are commonly shared by less developed countries. These commonalities are characterized as: a small proportion of the population employed in modern industry; permanent large-scale unemployment or underemployment; and large, low-productivity agricultural and service sectors.

Most developing nations have similar goals to eradicate problems which they share in common, although with a varying degree. The problems include widespread and chronic absolute poverty; high levels of unemployment and underemployment; wide disparities in the distribution of income; low levels of agricultural productivity; a sizable imbalance between urban and rural levels of living and economic opportunities; antiquated or inappropriate educational and health systems; severe balance of payment and international debt problems; and substantial and increasing dependence on foreign and often inappropriate technologies, institutions, and value systems (Todaro, 1989, p.18).

Among various strategies to tackle these problems, rural development has been emphasized and has received the most emphasis by developing countries. The emphasis ranges from a focus on industrialization, construction of infrastructure, provision of social services such as education and health care, emphasis on rural development and agricultural productivity, and involvement of people in development processes. Development models adopted by most developing countries are, in fact, imported from the West, where the modernization paradigm has been widely advocated. Many development approaches, such as rural development, basic needs strategy, and people's participation are in line with the modernization theory. Although massive foreign aid was provided for economic and social development in the Third World, the actual experience suggested that these approaches barely benefit the rural poor of the nation. To further understand this point, the notion of the modernization theory will be discussed, as well as the dependency theory - the competing paradigm.

Theoretical Underpinnings of Development and Underdevelopment

There are two main theories that provide explanations for underdevelopment in Third World countries: modernization and dependency. These two theories have different perspectives as they explain the same phenomena. They originated from different assumptions, different evaluative judgements, different methodologies, and different explanations.

The Modernization Paradigm

The development of the modernization paradigm was based on an early evolutionary concept of bipolar types of societies: modern and traditional societies.

According to this view, a traditional society is characterized as a state, with little differentiation of specialization, a predominance of mechanical division of labour, and a low level of urbanization and literacy. A modern society, on the other hand, is characterized as having a high level of differentiation, high degree of division of labor, specialization, urbanization, high level of literacy, and exposure to media (Eisenstadt, 1974, p.226). Most of all, a traditional society is considered bound by its inherited cultural horizons, while modern society is seen as culturally dynamic and oriented to change and innovation. The transition of these two types of societies was understood in terms of some stages within which key process of specialization and differentiation occurred which increased the complexity of society (Larrain, 1989, p.87-88; Janos, 1986).

The concept of modernization implies a dichotomy between two ideal types: the traditional or "underdeveloped" society, and industrial or "developed" society. The notion regarding development is that all societies follow a similar historical course of development from one polar type towards the other. Traditional societies are supposed to move towards modernity by following the same pattern of change as undergone by the developed societies. Within the modernization theory, there are four main categories: (1) the sociological version, represented by Parsons' (1951) pattern variables; (2) the psychological version characterized by the work of McClelland's (1966) *n* achievement; (3) the economic version, based on Rostow's (1960) stages of economic growth; and the political version illustrated by the work of Almond and Verba (1965).

1) The Sociological Version. Parsons (1951) analyzes society using five contrasting pairs of "pattern variables" to describe the ideal typical social structure of "traditional" and "modern" societies. The five dichotomies are: (1) affectivity versus affective neutrality, (2) self-orientation versus collective orientation, (3) particularism versus universalism, (4) ascription versus achievement, and (5) diffuseness versus

specificity. The process of modernization is characterized in terms of shifts in pattern variables from the former to the latter category in each pair (David, 1986; Janos, 1989).

Hoselitz (1960) applied Parsons' pattern variables to a study of development process. He argues that industrialized countries are characterized by universalism, achievement orientation, and functional specificity. Underdeveloped countries are characterized by the opposite variables of particularism, ascription, and functional diffuseness. The change from traditional to modernity is achieved by elimination of traditional pattern variables. For a "less developed" country to develop, it needs to diffuse modern individual attitudes and values through society. In short, "modernization sociologists explain underdevelopment as a lack of 'modern' social organization required to complement 'modern' economic structures. Such 'modern' organization and structures are optimally cast in First World and thereby capitalistic norms" (Toh, 1980, p.17).

2) The Economic Version. The economic version is represented by Rostow's (1960) stages of economic growth. These stages are: (1) traditional societies, (2) pre-condition for take-off, (3) take-off, (4) drive toward maturity, and (5) the age of high mass consumption. His notion was that all societies have to pass through these five stages in order to achieve self-sustaining economic growth. To reach the stage of take-off, several "pre-conditions" for economic growth are stressed, such as capital-mobilizing institutions, infrastructure, receptivity to science and technology, human-resource improvements, and an elite entrepreneurial class (Toh, 1980, p.15; Chilcote, 1981). Foreign investment, the transfer of capital and technology, and managerial and technical skills form the advanced countries are considered essential for the development of the less developed countries. Accordingly, multinational corporations play a major role in development of Third World countries.

3) The Psychological Version. This version emphasizes psychological motives and

other internal factors. According to McClelland (1966), values and motives shape people's own destiny. He refers to internal motivations as the "need for achievement" (n achievement) which is defined as "a desire to do well." He argues that there is a connection between rapid economic growth and a high concentration of the *n* achievement. He considers a business entrepreneur as a person having a high *n* achievement. According to his argument, higher achievement motivation will lead to greater economic development. On the contrary, the lack of *n* achievement, as a key psychological factor, is the main cause of poverty and underdevelopment.

4) The Political Version. As for political science, a central tenet of the notion is that liberal-democracies are the zenith of political development, and thereby provide an ideal model for "less developed" countries to emulate. Industrialized countries can help political development of the Third World countries through example, aid, and counter-revolutionary intervention (Almond and Verba, 1965; Toh, 1980; Janos, 1986).

Although there is a different emphasis and focus, the above versions of the modernization paradigm are mutually supportive of one another, and they share a common explanation of underdevelopment. An explanation of underdevelopment in Third World countries, for the modernization paradigm, is that these societies possess characteristics of traditional societies. In order to develop, developing nations have to change their traditional institutions, attitudes, and values, then adopt the new ideas, technologies, values, and organizations. The development of the poor nations, therefore, has to follow the path of the industrialized countries, and adopt their characteristics (Valenzuela and Valenzuela, 1981; Chilcote, 1981; Blomstrom and Hettne, 1984).

The development approaches proposed to the Third World countries are fundamentally based on the assumptions of the modernization paradigm. This strategy, sometimes referred to as "trickle-down" theory, is supported by the U.S. and international organizations, such as the United Nations, the World Bank, as well as foreign assistance from the industrialized to Third World nations.

The Dependency Paradigm

Probably economists at the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA) were the first to seek an explanation of underdevelopment outside the modernization paradigm. Instead of focusing on the value orientation, diffusion or psychological models of explanation, the ECLA focused on unequal terms of trade between exporters of raw materials and exporters of manufactured goods as the cause of underdevelopment in Latin America (Blomstrom and Hettne, 1984; Brewer, 1980).

The most widely known concept of dependency in the United States came from the writings of Andre Gunder Frank (1967, 1969). Frank was, in fact, influenced by Baran's (1957) interpretation of imperialism and exploitation. Baran was the first to argue that the destiny of the underdeveloped countries was distinctively different from that of areas that had experienced capitalist development at an earlier date (Brewer, 1980, p.21). His main argument was that "underdevelopment in the Third World is logically and historically tied to development in the industrial nations" (Dickens and Bonanno, 1988, p.173).

Fundamentally, dependency theorists refer to the expansion of capitalism as the main cause of underdevelopment in the less developed countries, particularly Latin America. Through an unequal economic relationship, the industrialized nations ("center" or "metropolis") have caused backward countries ("peripheries" or "satellites") to be further less developed through exploitation and extraction of surplus value. Frank (1969) observes that the weaker the ties between the metropolis and satellites, the more possibility there is of local autonomous development. On the other hand, the stronger the ties between the metropolis and the satellites, the more there will be underdevelopment in the satellites. Therefore, Frank (1978, p.43) suggests that an analysis of underdevelopment in a backward country "must begin with an examination of the historical process of capital accumulation on a world scale since that was the driving force of the various processes in the New World."

The notion of analysis of underdevelopment of the backward countries at the world system was supported by Wallerstein's (1974) world system theory, Emmanuel's (1972) concept of "unequal exchange", and Amin's (1976) "unequal development". Wallerstein analyzes changing patterns of dependency as both the causes and effects of successive transformations within a global capitalist system. Within the capitalist world system, nations can move upward or downward as a result of unequal international wages and exchange. Emmanuel (1972) sees capitalism as a world system of exploitation through unequal exchange. The industrialized countries sell export items to the Third World nations and buy raw materials and foodstuffs in return. The latter items are cheaper because wages are lower in the less developed countries. As a result, unequal exploitation of labor leads to an unequal exchange between developed and Third World countries. This, finally, leads to the unequal development which limits future development in Third World countries.

The proposition of dependency theory may be summarized as follows. First, underdevelopment results from dependence. Second, underdevelopment results mainly from exploitation — of the weak by the strong. Third, development and underdevelopment are dialectically linked; the former impoverishes the latter while the latter enriches the former. Fourth, underdevelopment is not just the product of local or national history; it is the product of a global, imperial history. Fifth, underdevelopment is not caused by archaic social structures and traditional institutional arrangements, but by piratical advanced capitalism. Sixth, there is only one cure for underdevelopment: de-satellization and socialism (Frank, 1969; Uchendu, 1980, p.9; Chilcote, 1981, p.291).

Not all dependency theorists agree in every aspect. Within the dependency paradigm, Cardoso (1973), for instance, argues that such relationship between the industrialized and Third World countries can, to some extent, lead to development. He calls this type of linkages "associated-dependent development." Although there are some disagreement, one aspect that dependency theorists share in common is that capitalism in Third World countries is fundamentally different (in a negative sense) from that of developed countries (Werker, 1985, p.86). In addition, what all dependency analyses share is "their interest in studying the situation of peripheral capitalist countries from the point of view of the conditioning effects which external forces and structures produce on the internal structures of these countries" (Larrain, 1989, p.112).

Currently, both the modernization paradigm and dependency paradigm are being strongly criticized. The modernization paradigm has been criticized by both scholars within the paradigm, and dependency theorists. The main criticism is that the model is unilinear, Eurocentric, ahistorical, and empirically invalid (Uchenda, 1980; Janos, 1986). The dependency theory has also been criticized for several aspects. The most vulnerable assertion is the claim that the economic links between the center and the periphery prevents growth and development (blocked development) in the periphery. Dos Santos (1973) and Cardoso (1973) argue that although external links are exploitative, they also help promote development. Secondly, this theory focuses too heavily on external factors and neglects internal structures, particularly social classes (Bossert, 1988). Thirdly, it fails to provide a viable strategy for development without creating some degree of dependency in the poor country (Fagerlind and Saha, 1989). Fourth, some dependency theorists are criticized for not clearly defining capitalism as a mode of production, and for not using terms according to Marx's concept. Finally, it cannot adequately explain the growth of NICs, which, according to Warren (1980), has achieved rapid industrialization and development through the capital, knowledge, technology, and economic ties with developed countries.

Development Models in the Third World Countries

Development theories mentioned above, particularly the modernization theory, have a considerable impact on development paths of the Third World countries. Most developing countries have adopted development strategies and approaches in line with the modernization paradigm. Only a few countries, such as China, Cuba, and Tanzania that pursued development through "delinking" with the capitalist world.

The modernization theory became eminent shortly after World War II as new nations emerged and needed to develop. Cold war politics between capitalist and socialist superpowers in the 1950s and 1960s led to a competition for the alliance of the newly independent countries. In order to maintain an alliance as well as to help the new nations develop, the industrialized countries, particularly the United States, the new superpower, had to find strategies to assist development of these emerging nations (Oakley and Marsden, 1984). Assistance to Third World countries took several forms: financial and technical assistance, experts and consultants, publication of development strategies, scholarships to the U.S. and Western Europe, foreign investment, and other social, economic and political support.

International organizations such as the United Nations, the World Bank, IMF, UNDP, and UNESCO became major exporters of Western development models to the less developed countries. The capitalist model of modernization also had the support of ruling classes in industrialized countries who perceived the challenge from the socialist camp.

At the same time, the ruling classes in less developed countries saw the U.S. and Western Europe as guardians of their interests, and socio-economic and political dominance (Alladin, 1984, p.2). Therefore, ruling elites were willing to adopt the Western style of modernization and become allied with capitalist power.

Regarding the adoption of the development model, some questions arise. Why did the Third World countries adopt the American or the "Western" model of modernization? Why did these countries not adopt the Chinese socialist model which was also quite successful in coping with poverty and basic needs? There are several reasons. The main reason is that the imposed model of development, which brought no radical reforms, did not threaten the vested interest of the ruling classes in Third World countries. Through an adoption of this model, the ruling elites were able to perpetuate their economic and political power. Foreign aid was frequently provided along with financial and technical supports. Massive, long-term loans were often provided. This kind of aid seemed very attractive to poor nations. Moreover, foreign experts or consultants from aid-projects usually had great influence on the direction development took in the recipient countries. Since most foreign assistance to Third World countries was from major international organizations, the U.S. and its allies, the capitalist/modernization model of development was advocated. It was not uncommon for the modernization paradigm of development to be imposed on recipient countries.

The radical paradigm of development, exemplified by the communist model, was barely adopted into practice by Third World countries. This radical model placed heavy emphasis on the nationalization of foreign investment in the primary sector and public utilities, state ownership of basic industries, and agrarian reforms. This model of development threatened the status quo of the national bourgeoisie and ruling elite. Since the elite had the power to control the country and direct development, the radical paradigm was rarely advocated (DeYoung, 1989; Oakley and Marsden, 1984).

Although the modernization paradigm was widely adopted as the model to combat underdevelopment and the problem of poverty with an emphasis on economic growth, the results have not been satisfactory. After more than two decades of development, it has become apparent that the stress on economic growth, cannot eradicate the problem of poverty. The wealth and benefits of the "trickle-down" approach are concentrated in urban areas, in the hands of small entrepreneurial and professional elites. The gap between rural and urban has increased strikingly, while at the same time there is rising unemployment and underemployment in rural sectors.

The aid-giving agencies, like the World Bank, the United Nations, and USAID seem to be aware of these phenomena and are trying to adjust their approach to development. Past experience suggests that the failure is due to the nature of the "top-down" approach to development, and the lack of people's participation in various development efforts. During the mid-1970s, new development strategies were proposed to deal with the problem of rural poverty in the Third World countries. These approaches, perceived as having promising potential, advocated a rural development strategy, basic needs approach, and nonformal education (World Bank, 1975; ILO, 1976; Coombs and Ahmed, 1974). The emphasis along with these approaches was the notion of people's participation. The United Nations (1975) advocated that all nations and development programs should involve the beneficiaries in the development effort.

The shift of focus to rural and agricultural development rather than rapid industrialization led to an increase of loans and aid in the area of rural development, education, water supply, nutrition, and population projects (ILO, 1976, p.43). These new approaches, focusing on the rural poor, seemed to deviate from the modernization paradigm, the previous model of development. Upon close examination, some writers argue that these new approaches are, in fact, a disguised form of the modernization approach. That is, the so-called rural development strategy is simply based on a modified form of the strategy, in which beneficiaries and social consequences remain the same as under older models of development (Bello, et al. 1982; Alladin, 1984). In other words, rural development is still a form of the modernization paradigm of development.

Rural Development

As previously mentioned, rural development projects and approaches in most developing countries adopt the modernization paradigm into practice. The discussion in this paper, therefore, concentrates on the basic assumption of this view, while the radical view is presented for contrast.

Attempts towards development have been undertaken seriously since the conclusion of World War II. The emphasis during this period, particularly in the 1950s and 1960s, was on economic development. It was believed that a developing country could attain development by following the development path of the so-called "industrialized nations." This approach, known as modernization theory, stressed the injection of capital input and institutional innovation from outside which would result in "take-off" and eventually spread the benefits throughout the entire system. Newly emerging independent countries were believed to follow the same evolutionary pattern as Western nations who had gone through stages of industrialization (Oakley and Marsden, 1984, p.3; Rostow, 1960; Todaro, 1989).

"Development" in this paradigm was initially based on the indicator of gross national product (GNP). Economic development was the main emphasis of many Third World countries pursuing development in the early years following World War II. It is often viewed that "development meant rising incomes per capita accompanying structural shifts in national economies from predominantly rural-agricultural to urban-industrial" (Wolfe, 1982, p.80). However, some argued that the development of a nation cannot be determined solely in the basis of economic factors. Social aspects must be recognized as crucial indicators of development. Seers (1972) argues that the meaning of development comprises other criteria beyond economic development.

> Development means creating the conditions for the realization of human personality. Its evaluation must therefore take into account three linked economic criteria: whether there has been a reduction in (i) poverty, (ii) unemployment, and (iii) inequality. GNP can grow rapidly without any improvement in these criteria; so development must be measured more directly. (Seers, 1972, p.21)

Others, similarly, suggest that additional elements be added to the concept of development, such as infant mortality and life expectancy; literacy and basic education; improvement of human potential; elimination of discrimination and structurally determined exploitation; creation and assurance of equal opportunities; and the more equitable distribution of the benefits of economic growth among people (United Nation, 1975; UNRISD, 1979; Mandl, 1982; Ghai, 1988; De Young, 1989).

The most radical thought about the concept of development is probably to be found in the writings of Paulo Freire (1970, 1973) who contends that authentic development must come from the actions of the oppressed themselves, as they become aware of their potential and act to control their destiny. His standpoint is articulated by Goulet (1989, p.165) who writes, "for Freire, the supreme touchstone of development is whether people who were previously treated as mere objects, known and acted upon, can now actively know and act upon, thereby becoming subjects of their own social destiny." Authentic development in this sense is when the people become fully conscientized about their disadvantaged conditions and their potential, and begin to take action to control over their own destiny.

The different definitions of development have a significant impact on development strategies to be implemented. However, it is clear that the economic dimension can no longer be regarded as the sole indicator of development. Development must be interpreted as the improvement of several social conditions of the people, particularly through involvement of the disadvantaged who actively engage in the development process. Since the late 1970s, rural people have gained more attention from development efforts to deal with their problem of poverty and social inequalities. Strategies to improve the well being of the rural people and to deal with their problems are generally found under the broad umbrella of "rural development."

Rural issues became central in Third World development of the mid-1970s. The concept of rural development to attack the problem of rural poverty was popularized by the World Bank (1975) when it included the concept in its official development-plan documents, and encouraged members of the World Bank to adopt the notion. Other international agencies like the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), the International Labour Office (ILO), the United Nations and several aid agencies also highlighted the need for rural development (Lea and Chaudhri, 1983, p.10; United Nations, 1975; ILO, 1976).

The focus on rural development and basic needs as presented by the World Bank and other major international organizations was a shift of emphasis in development. This was regarded by the Bank as a departure from the old "trickle-down" approach of development which failed to extend the benefits of economic-oriented development to the rural sectors. The World Bank views rural development as an alternative and a viable strategy for people in rural areas.

> Rural development is a strategy designed to improve the economic and social life of a specific group of people -- the rural poor. It involves extending the benefits of development to the poorest among those who seek a livelihood in the rural

> areas. The group includes small-scale farmers, tenants and the landless. (World Bank, 1975, p.3)

This statement by the World Bank suggests that the Bank has turned its attention to the very poor who were neglected in previous development efforts. At last, the Bank has recognized that agricultural productivity has been slow; poverty will get worse if the population growth remains unchanged; and rural labor and resources which tend to reduce poverty have not been mobilized appropriately. Rural development, therefore, is designed to deal with the above issues.

In practice, rural development comprises several aspects, such as employment; equitable access to arable land through land reforms; equitable distribution of income; satisfaction of basic needs, such as acceptable levels of food, shelter, water supply, and health; realization of everyone's full potential through broad educational opportunities; and the enhancement of all rural people to make decisions and take actions that affect their lives (Heim, et al, 1986; World Bank, 1975; Chambers, 1983; Setty, 1985; Lea and Chaudhri, 1983).

Meeting the basic needs of rural people became a central focus of rural development advocated by the World Bank. As a major aid-giving and loan-lending agency, the World Bank has convinced many developing countries to adopt the concept of rural development in their development programs. In addition, the United Nations, ILO, the U.S. government, and other international organizations have stressed development in rural sectors.

The major strategies for rural development adopted by most capitalist Third World countries are: land development or land reform; self-reliance and mass participation; agricultural extension services; community development; integrated rural development; nonformal education; and basic needs strategy (Heim et al. 1986; Lee, 1980; Coombs and

Ahmed, 1974). Although there are several approaches that focus on rural development, in practice, development organizations often contact and consult local leaders. Poor farmers seldom have an opportunity to participate in the planning and designing of development projects.

The situation for rural women is even worse. Women have been neglected by most development efforts dealing with rural poverty. When there are special projects for rural women, often they are formulated around the myth that women are principally housewives, ignoring the fact that most women have been extensively involved in production (Ahmad, 1984; Diane, 1982; Vedasto, 1985; Omvedt, 1986). In most cases, projects for women are related to handicrafts which are not saleable. In fact, when development workers determine what kind of projects to implement, they usually decide what would be appropriate for women. Women, themselves, rarely have a role in the decision-making process (Ahmad, 1980, 1984). Thus, rural development, which follows the modernization paradigm, has not been able to respond to the needs of local people, or improve significantly their living conditions.

As for countries in the socialist bloc, development meant not to follow the modernization paradigm. Instead, socialist countries like China and Cuba were able to achieve development through "delinking" and mass mobilization. The main development strategy of China was the liberating mass struggle that initiated a sharp break with dependent and imperialist links and eliminated the elite classes monopolizing production and distribution. The strategies included mass education; radical agrarian reform; nationalization of industry; and expulsion of foreign exploitation (Toh, 1980).

China has been recognized as successfully meeting the basic needs of its people. In order to transform the country's economy, China combined rural development with the development of industries, particularly in the area of mechanization to facilitate agricultural production. As Singh (1979) contends, China was successful in meeting basic needs because the issue was put as integral to an overall development plan of industrialization and structural change in the country's economy. Singh outlines the main features of the Chinese model of development which enabled China to meet the basic needs of the people. These features are: (1) close integration between industrial and agricultural development; (2) close integration between large- and small-scale enterprises and capital- and labour-intensive technology; (3) an income and fiscal policy; (4) limits on urbanization and labour migration; and (5) consumption planning and mass provision of public services (Singh, 1979, p.601).

Similar to China, Cuba and Tanzania sought national development through a revolution which advocated socialist development strategies. The socialist approach includes fulfillment of basic needs and self-reliance; agrarian reforms to redistribute rural resources to poor farmers; nationalization of properties; and equitable mass access to social services, such as education and basic health care (Nyerere, 1968; Toh, 1980, p.41; Samoff, 1990). Participation of the masses was encouraged as a means of socialization and to legitimize the ruling party. To some extent, these countries were able to meet people's basic needs within a short period of time.

The long-term goals of equitable development, however, were insurmountable. The process of decentralization which gave disproportionate power to local bureaucrats and local elites led to a manipulation of the decentralized system for their own benefits. In Tanzania, for instance, people later were reluctant to live in "ujamaa" villages (Kassam, 1983; Cliffe, 1973). In addition, the emerging socialism in these countries often faced a contradiction between socialist ideology and practice which placed an emphasis on economic growth. In Tanzania, the influence of external donors such as the IMF and World Bank led the country to be reliant on external capital, skills and technology, and move towards modernization (Ergas, 1980; Kassam, 1983; Samoff, 1990). Similarly, recently China has switched to economic growth by opening its country to foreign investment, and the capitalist system.

While countries undertaking a more radical reform were able to achieve a substantial degree of basic needs at the initial stage, other countries adopting the "updated" modernization strategy did not seem successful. Studying the World Bank's basic needs approach towards rural development, Alladin (1984) observes that the Bank did not intend to place any emphasis on structural change, such as redistribution of income and wealth. The Bank also does not aim to disrupt the status quo, and hence a very low percentage of the target groups actually benefits from development projects.

> It may frequently be desirable to design a project so that all sections of the rural community benefit to some degree. In some countries, avoiding opposition from the powerful and influential sectors of the community is essential if the program is not to be subverted from within. Thus, in some cases where economic and social inequality is essentially great, it is normally optimistic to expect that more than fifty per cent of the project benefits can be directed toward the target groups: often the percentage will be considerably less (World Bank, 1975, p.40).

The avoidance of structural change by international agencies and national bureaucrats was motivated fundamentally for political reasons. Those who controlled the country did not want to lose their power, thus the emphasis on rural development in many Third World countries was just to "calm down" the growing unrest of peasants who began to realize they were being exploited. In fact, "foreign aid" seldom benefits poor farmers. The World Bank admitted that less than fifty percent of the project benefits fell into the hands of the target groups. It has also been observed that aid-giving agencies not only influence the development paradigm of recipient countries, but also serve the interests of donors. That is, the major benefit seems to be for the donors (Theunis, 1988). In reference to U.S. aid policies, this issue is articulated by Toh (1980, p.61) who notes that "behind the rhetoric of 'helping' UDCs (underdeveloped countries) 'develop', U.S. aid whether of the traditional bilateral or the more recent multilateral variety is really attuned to serving the basic interests of the U.S. capitalism: to accumulate and expand." Since capitalist elites in developed countries have a good relationship with the ruling elites in less developed countries, there is little opportunity for any significant structural change to occur.

At the micro or project level, other reasons contribute to the failure of rural development programs: the lack of commitment of government officials; the lack of people's involvement in the decision-making process at the local level, particularly the non-involvement of disadvantaged farmers and women; the way development workers treat the people as objects, not subjects of development; the need to show quick results; and the "top-down" process of development which does not respond to the local needs (Turton, 1987; Rigg, 1991; Oakley and Marsden, 1984; Dias, 1985; Montgomery, 1988; Ahmad, 1984).

One important factor that has emerged from the review of factors associated with failure of development program is that the active involvement of the people is deemed essential for rural development projects, particularly if development is to be sustained in the medium and long run. The notion of popular participation, therefore, becomes a key element in rural development activities (United Nations, 1975; Oakley and Marsden, 1984; Mulwa, 1987).

Since the mid-1970s, many international organizations, such as the United Nations, ILO, and the World Bank encouraged developing countries to involve the target beneficiaries in development projects (United Nations, 1975; ILO, 1976; UNRISD, 1979). As a consequence, most development programs, particularly those supported by international organizations, have applied the concept of people's participation in rural development projects.

The notion of participation is also compatible with the shift in development approach from "top-down" to "bottom-up" and "decentralization." In the 1980s, people's participation has become the central focus in most rural development programs in Third World countries. The interpretation of the concept of people's participation, however, has been varied among development scholars and agencies. This has led to different approaches and implementation of the concept from theory to practice. To further explore this point, the discussion will focus on the issue of people's participation and the implementation of the concept in development programs.

Theoretical Framework of People's Participation

Although participation has been broadly emphasized in rural development projects, there are no firm theories of people's participation. The lack of well-established theories of participation is one of the problems in analyzing the effect of participation. However, Sadler (1977) suggests that there may be two distinct meanings of participation, each embedded in two different theories of representative democracy which rest on different conceptions of the social order. Each of these meanings, Sadler suggests, can be applied to interpret participation in activities. The first one is the classical idea of political democracy which emphasizes egalitarian values and stresses the continuing role of the individual citizen in public affairs. Participation, in this framework, is seen as the key approach to realizing individual potential and social justice.

Another interpretation views representative democracy as basically elitist in nature since it assigns a passive role to the individual citizen in public affairs. The mass of citizens are seen as relatively uninformed and disinterested. Their main political participation is an occasional vote to grant power to governing elites. According to this notion, participation favors prevailing political rulers and reflects dominant social norms (Sadler, 1977, p.2-3). Thus, there are several definitions of participation. Development programs and practices are likely to be based on one definition or the other.

Regarding "participation", there have been quite a few terms employed to indicate the involvement of people in development activities. These terms are: people's participation, popular participation, citizen participation, community participation, and community or people's involvement. The United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD) uses the terms "popular participation" and "people's participation" interchangeably; whereas others such as Arnstein (1969) or Yap (1989) refer to people's involvement respectively as "citizen participation", and "community participation." It becomes apparent that the use of terms tends to change over time, from citizen participation, to popular participation, to people's participation or community participation, respectively. Even though the terms used may change, the underlying substance remains, by and large, the same. In this paper, the term "people's participation" is used.

By and large, the implementation of people's participation depends on how the concept is defined and interpreted by each development organization. Based on the review of literature on people's participation, this study categorizes the views of people's participation into two competing perspectives: the liberal and the radical paradigm.

The liberal paradigm, derived from the modernization theory of development, contends that people's participation is an essential element for authentic development that would benefit the majority of people. The radical paradigm, on the other hand, argues that people's participation incorporates and coopts the disadvantaged, and legitimizes the state authority. Authentic participation, according to the radical view, must be geared towards conscientization and empowerment of economically and socially disadvantaged people.

There has been, in fact, considerable disagreement among development scholars and practitioners regarding the concept of people's participation. For instance, Paul (1989) articulates that:

> Some use the term to mean active participation in political decision-making. For certain activist groups, participation has no meaning unless the people involved have significant control over the decisions concerning the organisation to which they belong. Development economists tend to define participation by the poor in terms of the equitable sharing of the benefits of projects. Yet others view participation as an instrument to enhance the efficiency of projects or as the co-production of services. Some would regard participation as an end in itself, whereas others see it as a means to achieve the goals. These diverse perspectives truly reflect the differences in the objectives for which participation might be advocated by different groups. (p.100-101)

In short, these different views of participation embody different underlying definitions and help shape different approaches that formulate development policies and their implementation.

The Liberal View of Participation

The liberal view of people's participation fundamentally comes from international organizations, such as the United Nations, ILO, UNDP, and the World Bank, which significantly influence developing countries to adopt the notion of people's participation into practice. The strongest proponent of people's participation in rural development is the UN's Economic and Social Council. It encourages governments to adopt popular participation as a basic policy measure in national development strategy, and to "encourage wide popular participation and co-operation in the development process — in setting the goals, implementing the plans and enjoying the benefits of development" (United Nations, 1975, p.2). The United Nations considers people's participation as an essential element of development process. Popular participation, for the United Nations (1975) is defined as:

> Active and meaningful involvement of the masses of people at different levels (a) in the decision-making process for the determination of societal goals and the allocation of resources to achieve them and (b) in the voluntary execution of resulting programmes and projects. (p.40)

The United Nations' definition emphasizes two main elements: people's involvement in the decision-making process, and voluntary participation in development programs. Another definition regards participation as "the involvement of a significant number of persons on situations of actions which enhance their well-being, e.g. their income, security or self-esteem" (Cohen and Uphoff, 1980, p.216). The two definitions, although they stress involvement of the masses of the people, do not specify definitely which group of people that need to be involved. Since past development experience suggests that the benefits of development barely fall into the hands of the marginalized groups of people, including a large number of people does not guarantee that the very poor will have a chance to participate and benefit. Other writers in this paradigm stress similar points concerning active involvement in the development process, taking part in decision-making, and controlling development activities by the majority of the people. The final goal is to enhance the well-being of rural people (Shadid, Brins and Nas, 1988; Setty, 1985).

Support for the implementation of people's participation in development programs mostly comes from international aid-giving organizations, namely the United Nations, ILO, WHO, FAO, UNDP, UNESCO, and the World Bank. The influence of these organizations, as well as their financial assistance, results in the adoption of the liberal view of people's participation in rural development in most developing countries. These international agencies believe that the people should play an active role in development activities. Development plans should be flexible and decentralized to provide the poor people with better food, shelter, health care, and education. The concept of popular participation is conceived to not only create opportunities for political involvement but also adopt measures that would enable ordinary people to share fully in the development process. People's participation is also perceived as an effort to correct an error of past development approaches, and as a key element in "basic-needs" strategy in rural development. (Mulwa, 1987; Cohen and Uphoff, 1980, p.213; World Bank, 1975; Midgley et al, 1986, p.21).

The assumption behind this view is that real development must be people-centered instead of production-oriented (Korten and Klauss, 1984). There is also a limit of government action to respond to the needs of the rural people. In sum, the call for participation comes from a broad spectrum of those who advocate beneficiary participation as integral to authentic development (Paul, 1989, p.100).

The benefits of participation are outlined by White (1982) who contends that there are at least ten distinct reasons to favor participation. According to White, these reasons are: (1) more will be accomplished; (2) services can be provided at a lower cost; (3) participation has an intrinsic value for population groups; (4) it can be a catalyst for further development efforts; (5) participation leads to a sense of responsibility for a project; (6) participation guarantees that a felt need is involved; (7) participation ensures things are done the right way; (8) it uses indigenous knowledge and expertise; (9) it frees populations from dependence on professionals; and (10) it is a starting point for conscientization. The last two points are congruous with the radical view of participation. White's idea of participation, nevertheless, seems to be project-linked participation, not a political or socially transformative process.

Advocates of the liberal view of people's participation provide convincing reasons that involving people, particularly in the decision-making process would enable individual to be more capable in dealing with their own problems and that of the community. This positive view of people's participation is favorably summarized by the United Nations that:

> In conclusion, there would appear to be much to gain and little to lose from involving the people directly in the development decision-making process, provided the institutional context is favourable to implementing this requisite of structural reform. Indeed, it is one thing to point out the utility of popular participation, ceteris paribus, and quite another to implement reforms necessary to achieve it. (United Nations, 1975, p.28)

The liberal view of people's participation, however, is questioned by many writers concerning its validity, since in many cases the practice of people's participation does not seem to yield desirable results. Strong arguments come from those espousing the radical or social transformation perspective.

The Radical View of People's Participation

Although most development scholars posit that participation benefits rural people and contributes to the development of the community, radical writers insist that participation can also be distorted to favor specific groups. According to the radical view, participation means more than mere involvement of people in development activities. Lisk (1985) emphasizes the role of people in making decisions at all levels of the development process. He posits that popular participation in development should be broadly understood "as the active involvement of people in the making and implementation of decisions at all levels and forms of political and socioeconomic activities" (p.15).

An even more radical definition is that of the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development. Although it is a UN-affiliated organization, the UNRISD's working definition goes radically beyond the liberal view of participation. It suggests that the central issue of popular participation has to do with power, exercised by some people over other people, and by some classes over other classes. Popular participation is defined by UNRISD as:

> The organized efforts to increase control over resources and regulative institutions in given social situations, on the part of groups and movements of those hitherto excluded from such control. (Pearse and Stiefel, 1979, p.8).

This definition suggests that authentic participation must emphasize the power and control of the excluded or disadvantaged over the development processes. Radical writers argue that, in most cases, the implementation of people's participation is often distorted by development workers or local leaders so that it does not serve the interest of marginalized groups. Various reasons given by these authors regarding the limited benefits of participation for the disadvantaged include: deficient representativeness of the target groups; dominance of the articulate groups consisting of the well educated, well-off and powerful local elites who generally pursue their vested interests; lack of an organizational framework to institutionalize the participation of members of a target group; and people's preference to solve immediate problems quickly (Dusseldorp, 1981; Heim, et al., 1986; Turton, 1987; Hirsch, 1989).

In addition, the notion of participation has frequently been used as an instrument of the State and bureaucrats to incorporate people in the State's initiated-development projects (Montgomery, 1988; Midgley, et al., 1986; Goulet, 1989). Authorities generally view participation as a way to get subordinates to help them achieve their own purposes. Local leaders, in turn, further exploit villagers through the notion of participation. Consequently, when a development project is implemented at the local level, it often involves and benefits local leaders and the elite, while the excluded barely have a chance to participate.

Poor and landless farmers, and women in particular, barely get involved in development activities. Women are often regarded by development workers as housewives, not as essential forces of production (Ahmad, 1984). Rural farmers, when they are encouraged to get involved in development projects, typically participate in labor-related activities (Wolfe, 1982, p.13; Montgomery, 1988). Disadvantaged groups are sometimes aware of the bias in official development programs and hesitant to participate in them. Racelis (1987) contends that if the development program appears to supersede its participatory objectives or is used by local elites to discredit their dignity, peasants are quick to observe this and take the safe course by dropping out or not joining in the first place.

According to the radical view, people's participation means control over the decision-making process by the people. In her classification of levels of participation, Arnstein (1969) argues that simple discussion or consultation with the people is an act of tokenism. She classifies the degree of participation as "the ladder of citizen participation" ranging from the lowest to the highest degree of citizen power. The categories are: non-participation (manipulation, therapy), degree of tokenism (informing, consultation, placation), and degree of citizen power (partnership, delegated power, and citizen control). In the real sense of participation, the people must have controlling power over the decision-making process. The key emphasis for radical authors in participatory process is the notion of conscientization and empowerment (Freire, 1970; Heim et al, 1986; Stiefel and Pearse, 1982).

Freire's (1970; 1973) conscientization process is often cited as essential for meaningful and authentic participation. He argues that when people are treated as "objects" and "acted upon", or when they have a sense of being dehumanized, they would rather avoid participation. On the other hand, when they are given a chance to participate with dignity and treated equally as "human", they can become "subjects of their own destiny". His view is clearly pronounced by Goulet (1989):

> When people are oppressed or reduced to the culture of silence, they do not

> participate in their own humanization. Conversely, when they participate, thereby becoming active subjects of knowledge and action, they begin to construct their properly human history and engage in processes of authentic development. (p.165)

For Freire, participation can be a process of raising the consciousness of the oppressed to empower them and give them control over resources, to enable them to control their own destiny, and to provide them with the opportunity to improve their living conditions. The participation of poor peasants, particularly, in the dialogical processes will gradually enable them to emerge from "the culture of silence" to reflect their own thoughts, and eventually to take appropriate actions with confidence. When peasants are engaged in an active and continuous dialogue, it challenges them to become critically aware of their oppressed situation and become conscious of their own power. Through the awareness and reflection of their oppressed condition and their ability to transform society, the oppressed vigorously can take action against unjust conditions. It is this conscientization process that helps remove their dependency on others, and leads to self-reliance, which fosters self-sustained development (Freire, 1970, 1973).

It might be this concept of conscientization and empowerment that threatens the existing power-holders, and sometimes the State. Once the power base perceives the political risk, it usually tries every means to minimize or distort authentic people's participation. As Dusseldorp (1981, p.81) articulates:

> As the introduction of participation in the planned development process often influences the existing power structure and the distribution of benefits, it is obvious that those who politically can lose power and benefits will try to avoid the introduction or extension of participation. However, if participation cannot be avoided they will try to manipulate participation in such a way that its effects on the power structure and the distribution of benefits will be limited as much as possible or they will call certain procedures "participation", even though they have nothing to do with it.

To clarify his point, Dusseldorp further illustrates how participation can be manipulated by local leaders or elites through various forms and tactics, such as (1) joining a group if not able to prevent them from participating; (2) asking for too much information; (3) focusing the discussion repeatedly on non-related issues or basic principles; (4) stressing the differences between other members in the participating group; (5) intentionally reporting only obvious mistakes of the project; and (6) encapsulating individual malcontents by changing to other areas or content when the groups are meeting (Dusseldorp, 1981, p.81-84). In this way, the leaders themselves can endanger the participatory process.

As illustrated above, the two views of people's participation are distinct in many aspects, such as definition, target groups, objectives, strategies, and desirable outcomes. The argument of the two views may be summarized in Table 1.

In terms of meaning, the liberal paradigm refers to the concept as voluntary participation in decision-making process; whereas the radical or social transformation paradigm considers it an effort to increase control of the "hitherto excluded" over social situations. The liberals attempt to involve all groups of people while the radicals place an emphasis on the disadvantaged. The former view suggests that the main objective and outcome of people's participation is to achieve the well-being of the majority of people. The latter view, however, aims to achieve self-reliance and empowerment of the economically and socially oppressed/exploited through the process of conscientization.

In practice, the concept of people's participation is rarely radical, particularly in societies ruled by repressive regimes. Even in a democratic society where the government shows enthusiasm for people's participation, the notion is often advocated with hesitation when it comes to the issue of people power. That is, "participation" is often a matter for the "elite", excluding the nation's populace. To make participation a meaningful process for development, there is a "need for new forms of non-elite participation in the transition to equitable development strategies" (Goulet, 1989, p.165).

Table 1

The Liberal and Radical View of People's Participation

Liberal View of People's Part.	**Radical View of People's Part.**
Definition	Definition
Active and meaningful involvement of the masses of people at different levels (a) in the decision-making process for the determination of societal goals and the allocation of resources to achieve them and (b) in the voluntary execution of resulting programmes and projects.	The organized efforts to increase control over resources and regulative institutions in given social situations, on the part of groups and movements of those hitherto excluded from such control.
Emphasis on	Emphasis on
- all groups of people - voluntary participation - people's involvement in the decision-making process - group meeting/consultation	- the hitherto excluded - decision-making at all levels - conscientization, empowerment, self-reliance - dialogical/group discussion
Argument (on effects/outcomes)	Argument (on effects/outcomes)
- more people involved - benefits to all people - well-being of the people - less resistance of people to the implementation of development project - success of the project - sustainable development	Criticize the liberal model for - state/bureaucrats cooptation - lip service - benefits go to local elites - no change in power structure If authentic participation occurs - conscientization/awareness of the people - empowerment of the people - change in power relation and structure - sustainable development

Implementation of people's participation also seems to be radically different in the two main approaches: whether it is initiated from above or initiated from below. In a country that adopts top-down, growth-oriented approaches to development, it is most likely that participation will not be generated by the people themselves from below. Rather, it will be imposed by the government for the purpose of rallying the people to implement activities that already have been planned. On the other hand, if the development model is "people-centered", development will focus on the satisfaction of basic human needs, job creation, and self-reliance. This latter model of development requires a form of participation in which the non-elite play an active role in the diagnosis of their own problems (Goulet, 1989, p.167). In reality, participation is often in the form of the former since most Third World countries espouse the "trickle-down" paradigm of development.

In addition, the problem of participation often arises from the ambiguity of the term "participation" itself since it is never clearly defined. In fact, participation is often endorsed ambiguously on normative grounds and often through lip service even if the empirical basis is not clear (Turton, 1987; Uphoff, et al., 1979, p.3).

The notion of participation has been mired in exacerbated rhetoric and misleading euphemisms (Arnstein, 1969). Another misleading emphasis, as Turton (1987, p.12) remarks, "is on the decentralization of power which often results in increasing the participation of existing local powerholders." That is why very often participatory programs "provide little more than token representation of the 'beneficiaries' and thus fail to arouse their interest of commitment" (Ghai, 1988, p.27).

The emergence of people's participation as a key element in rural development is based on the realization that past development activities barely involved rural people, particularly the disadvantaged poor, in development processes. They were merely treated as the recipients of development. Although people's participation is widely advocated, the concepts are interpreted differently.

To examine people's participation, this study takes a stand that the concept of people's participation that would lead to authentic development should: (1) involve marginalized people in the decision-making process at all levels; (2) be a voluntary, not a coercive process; (3) be the people themselves who determine the goals and make use of available resources to achieve the goals; and (4) eventually lead to the change of power structure in favor of the powerless. In other words, people's participation, in this study, refers to voluntary involvement of target groups in a development project — whereby the people have control over the decision-making process at all levels, as well as involvement in the implementation the project so that it benefits even the poorest people in the community.

To consider the implementation process and how people become involved in development activities, participation models can be a framework to examine and analyze people's participation.

Models and Measurement of People's Participation

Although there is a large body of literature on participation, the aspects of its empirical measurement has rarely been developed. It is still difficult to establish meaningful and reliable indicators (Cohen and Uphoff, 1977, p.164). Part of the difficult task derives from the different definitions and interpretations of participation itself. As Goulet (1989, p.165) admits, "to give the term a precise operational definition is most difficult."

Existing scales are mainly in the area of political participation. Among the forerunners was the work of Chapin (1928) who focused on membership as proxy for participation. He assigned different scores to different levels of participation in an organization, ranging from common membership with a score of 1-5 for holding an office in the organization. The scores are then added within and across organizations, resulting in a participation score for each individual. Others, such as Marsh (1974), Parker (1983), and Deth (1986) developed scales to measure some aspects of political participation. On the whole, the scoring system is used for determining a level of participation. Similarly, Checkoway et al. (1984) apply a 4-point scale of 11 variables to measure participation in health planning agencies. For a quantitative measure of participation, normally a scaling system indicating high participation or low participation is used as an indicator. The average score of all aspects, then, becomes the level of participation.

A few authors have provided suggestions on what aspects should be considered when examining people's participation. These suggestions may be applied to the degree of participation. The recommendations for examining participation presented here focus on three aspects: the organization (Rahman, 1981), the project (UNICEF, 1981), and the overall participatory process (Cohen and Uphoff, 1977, 1980). With an organization that is applying the concept of people's participation, Rahman (1981) suggests that the following aspects should be examined: (1) context of participation; (2) initiation of the organization; (3) consciousness or perception of the people; (4) role of outsiders; (5) structure of the organization; (6) method of participation; (7) activities of the organization; (8) response of other social groups/classes; (9) role of the state; (10) change in economic, social and political status; (11) development of indigenous capability; (12) sustainability; (13) policy change; and (14) replicability and generalization (Rahman, 1981, p.4-5).

Another useful instrument is the checklist developed by UNICEF (1981). The instrument comprises seven useful items to assess the degree of project participation. These items are: (1) project planning process; (2) identification of needs; (3) extent of resource mobilization for the project; (4) identification of project workers; (5) development of social and/or technical skills; (6) project implementation; and (7) periodic evaluation/monitoring of progress. Each of these areas is provided with five relevant choices representing the degree of participation ranging from highly participative to authoritarian.

An attempt to provide a broad framework for measuring rural development participation is suggested by Cohen and Uphoff (1977). The authors identify what dimensions should be focused upon, and from these dimensions a composite indicator is constructed. They suggest that when measuring participation, attention should be paid to: the "what", "who" and "how" dimensions of participation. They posit that many of the measures for "who" participate in "what" aspects of development projects — decision-making, implementation, benefits and/or evaluation — can be direct and quantitative. With respect to decision-making, one can compare members/participants with respect to the proportion of persons by educational level, land tenure, social status, sex or ethnic group.

In the "what" aspect of participation with respect to implementation, contributions of labor or money can be measured within different groups. Concerning benefits, one can survey households in a community to get data on project-related improvements accruing to them specifically.

The "how" aspect of participation requires a more qualitative measure. Analysis of this dimension of participation can be done through an examination of: (1) the initiative (from above or from below); (2) the inducements (voluntary or coercive); (3) the structure; (4) the channels of participation (occur on an individual or collective basis); (5) the duration; (6) the scope of participation; and (7) the empowerment of the people obtained from participating in decision-making and implementation (Cohen and Uphoff, 1977, 1980; Uphoff, Cohen and Goldsmith, 1979).

Although these three models of measurement have a slightly different emphasis for assessing participation, each of them can be used to examine the context of people's participation. Selection has to be based on the issues that need to be examined. The research questions, or what is to be examined, will help determine which model or portion thereof can be applied to an assessment of people's participation.

Regarding implementation, the issue of people's participation often faces debatable problems. Which groups of people does the project really benefits? What factors motivate people to participate? How are development activities initiated? To what extent does participation empower people in the decision-making process? What are the consequences of participation in a development project? To examine these particular issues, relevant aspects from all three models are used to assess participation. The "who" "what" "how" dimensions of participation by Cohen and Uphoff (1977, 1980) are a broad framework to assess participation. Specific points to examine participation are selectively drawn from the suggestions of Rahman (1981) and UNICEF (1981). These include items such as: initiation of activities; role of the development workers/bureaucrats; social, economic and political effects on the people; and empowerment of people.

Research about People's Participation

There have been quite a number of studies and research on some aspects of people's participation in rural development. The findings suggest that the effects of participatory efforts depend on several factors which bring about either a favorable or unfavorable outcome. This paper discusses the studies and research on participation regarding who participates, for what reasons, and with what effects respectively.

The Participants

In an attempt to find out who participates in development project, the Department of Community Development (1976) conducted a descriptive study of 191 people who participated in the Sarapee Project, in Chiangmai, Thailand. This study found that: (1) older persons participate more than younger persons; (2) men participate more than women; (3) educated people participate more than less educated people; (4) married persons, particularly heads of households participate more; (5) people with higher income or with more land ownership participate more than those with lower economic status. These findings are supported by other studies conducted elsewhere (Singh and Deb, 1985, Wudhikamaraksa, 1983; Hoonpayont, 1985; Muangmanee, 1983; Kuntavong, 1985).

Regarding participation of males and females in development activities, Vedasto (1985), by studying the impact of training for rural development in Tanzania, finds that women are not adequately involved in the program. Similarly, Diane (1982) compares the role of women in three countries and finds that little attention is given to the role of women as agrarian producers, and, if activities are planned, they tend to cater to the domestic area, and rarely to women's economic potential. The low proportion of women in development activities is also observed in Omvedt's (1986) review of the literature concerning the role of women in India and Thailand. The study by Muangmanee (1983) of 200 women who participated in nonformal education in Thailand finds that those who participate more are: younger women, those with higher income, married women, and those who understand more about nonformal education activities.

Among the participants of development projects, most studies reveal that the better-off people participate more than the very poor. A study by Singh and Deb (1985) about people's participation in integrated rural development in Ludhiana and Bhatinda, Punjab, India, indicates that property relations and clan positions are important factors.

They conclude that large landowners participate more in the development activities while the participation of people owning small and medium farms, functionaries, and agricultural labourers was comparatively less in both areas. The wide participation gap seems to be due to the fact that poor farmers were hardly consulted at the planning stage. Similarly, studies in Thailand by Wudhikamaraksa (1983) and Hoonpayont (1985) reveal that rural people earning higher incomes or owning more acres of land participate in village-development activities more than those with lower incomes or landless farmers.

With regard to the kinds of activities people participate in, Daoweerkul (1984) and Chomdee (1981) reveal that disadvantaged groups of people rarely participate in the planning or decision-making process. On the other hand, the deprived are basically involved in project meetings, labour-work, and fund raising. Only local leaders and the better educated people participate in planning and decision making.

Reasons for participation/non-participation

Some studies have focused on the reasons for participation or non-participation in development projects. Visetpojanakit (1977), studying the expectation of people who participate in the Sarapee Project, discloses that people participate in the project because they: want to have a good relationship with other members; need help in marketing; need good relationship with government officials; expect more income; need the support of an investment loan; and see it as an honour to be involved. The study by the Department of Community Development (1976) finds similar reasons. Other factors influencing participation of rural people in development activities are: social status in the village, self-importance of the village development or regard it as an honour, and persuasion from neighbours, or village leaders (Chomdee, 1981; Daoweerakul, 1984).

Studies by Chansawang (1987) and Thamronglerdrit (1987) suggest that development workers and supervision by high-ranking government officials play an important role in motivating or igniting people's participation in the development area. Stanley's (1986) and Kuntavong's (1985) studies suggest similar findings. Kuntavong (1985) discovers that a positive perception of administrators and field workers has a relationship to people's participation in a self-help project. She also finds that nonformal education helps villagers understand and participate more in the project, and it can be used as a tool to encourage participation and build trust among villagers.

Social interaction between farmers and government officials also can influence people's participation. As Yunus (1982) finds in his study of farmers' participation in rural development programs, the power of the officials has a substantial impact upon the degree of farmers' participation.

Those who do not participate cite several reasons. A study conducted by Clark (1979) regarding non-participation of the disadvantaged adults in adult basic education outlines the reasons as: (1) lack of time; (2) low level of education; (3) program's irrelevance to employment skills; (4) improvement to a higher levels of education is a meaningless goal; and (5) worthlessness of the program.

In the Thai context, Amatyakul (1980), examining the factors motivating villagers to participate or not participate in a functional literacy programs in northeastern Thailand, concludes that fatigue, illness, and geographic distance are reasons for non-participation and dropout. Lohitwisas (1991), studying women's participation in nonformal education programs in Thailand, concludes that non-participation may be caused by lack of time, previous negative experience, lack of interest in the training or specific program, uninformed about programs, age constraints, misunderstanding, and disapproval of the family.

Hoonpayont (1985), in an attempt to find out factors affecting non-participation in community development, conducts a one-shot study in a rural-poverty village, Nakornsawan Province. This study concludes that the main reasons for non-participation of people, particularly lower-income groups, are that they: need to devote more time for their own work; lack self-confidence in participatory process; worry that their opinion will not be taken into account; understand that development is the responsibility of the community leaders. The study by Wudhikamaraksa (1983) reveals similar reasons: have other things to do, have no time, and are occupied with household chores.

The lack of participatory incentives, or bureaucratic domination can also influence non-participation. Austin III (1981), studying the local organizations and agrarian change in Jamaica, finds that local organizations are largely moribund, and despite the government's rhetorical commitment to people's participation, few farmers are actively engaged in decision-making activities. Membership is widespread, but the organizations serve neither the government's purposes nor the members' interests, and in some cases have a negative effect on small landholders' output.

A variety of reasons have been identified for participation or non-participation of people in development programs. These reasons may be categorized as structural (social, economic, and political), demographic and personal factors. Such factors, drawn from various studies, are summarized in Table 2.

The Effects of People's Participation

Regarding the effects of people's participation, the cases drawn particularly from research and studies in Thailand have shown both positive and negative results. Useem, Setti and Kanchanabucha (1988) conducted a study of a nonformal education project in Southern Thailand, which used participatory techniques to build self-guided problem-solving groups in 21 villages. The study concludes that participatory strategies are more

Table 2

Summary of Reasons for Participation and Non-participation

Factors	**Reasons for Participation**	**Researchers**
Economic	Expect more income	Visetpojanakit (1977)
	Need investment loans	Lohitwisas (1991)
	Need help in marketing	Dept Comm Dev (1976)
	Low social status*	Chomdee (1981)
	Lack of incentives*	Austin (1981)
Social	Need good relationships (with other people and Government officials)	Visetpojanakit (1977)
	Persuasion from neighbours	Daoweerakul (1984)
	Social status	Chomdee (1981)
Political	Power of officials	Yunus (1982)
	Persuasion for leaders	Daoweerakul (1984)
	Roles of development workers	Stanley (1986)
	Perception of NFE workers	Kuntavong (1985)
	Supervision of officials	Chansawang (1987)
	Previous negative experiences*	Lohitwisas (1991)
Personal	Feeling of having an honour	Chomdee (1981)
	Feeling of self-importance	Visetpojanakit (1977)
	Lack of time*	Daoweerakul (1984)
	Low education*	Wudhikamaraksa (1983)
	Irrelevant skills*	Clark (1979)
	Worthlessness*	
	Lack of interest*	Lohitwisas (1991)
	Uninformed about programs*	
	Age constraint*	
	Misunderstanding*	
	Disapproval of the family*	
	Not perceived as essential*	
	Fatigue*	
	Lack of self-confidence*	Hoonpayont (1985)
	Illness*	Amatyakul (1980)
Demographic	Distance*	Amatyakul (1980)

Note: * = Reasons for non-participation.

effective, especially in villages that (1) are relatively isolated from competing urban opportunities; (2) have prior experience with development efforts and community endeavours; and (3) have greater confidence in traditional village leaders and local government agents. The authors observe that participatory strategies encourage the emergence of new leadership that can successfully guide the project.

The above findings are congruent with the field research and experience of Hafner (1987) in the Northeast of Thailand. He draws conclusions from the *Tungnam* (Rain-water Jar) Project and the Irrigation Weir Project that participatory processes combined with other elements have led to considerable success. Hafner (1987) states that:

> If one conclusion stands out in this experience, it is that substantive village level development will occur only where programmes are committed to meeting locally defined need and building recipient participation with incentives, encouragement, and the technical support required to shift responsibility for meeting those needs to the rural population itself. (p.95-96)

On the negative side, studies conducted by Hirsch (1989) and Turton (1987) illustrate that the concept of participation can be distorted. Hirsch, conducting a study in a remote forest village in central Thailand, observes that the notion of people's participation has been used for the state's articulation and cooptation of the village to make the people conform to the government policy. Occasionally, project proposals are presented by district officials or the village head, who require a "yes" or "no" vote rather than a choice between alternatives (Hirsch, 1989, p. 46). Although government officials claim to emphasize people's involvement, Hirsch notices that often villagers do not have any role in the decision-making process. Instead, the notion of people's participation is used as a means for the state's cooptation.

Similarly, Turton, studying popular movements in Thailand through examining the participation of the poor farmers' groups, notices that the notion of people's participation is sometimes used to benefit the powerholders. His study shows that development plans fail basically due to social and cultural factors — usually those pertaining to people at the "receiving end" of the development plans (Turton, 1987, p.120).

Summary

The review of literature suggests that the development paradigm adopted at the national level has an influence on development approaches both at the macro- and micro-levels. Similarly, the implementation of rural development participation is influenced by the liberal and radical views of participation that shape the emphasis of participatory processes. There is not yet a definite consensus about the effects of people's participation in rural development. Most authors and research findings suggest contradictory effects of people's participation. While the liberals regard participation as a means or process for authentic development, the radicals find participation often means cooptation and control over rural people. Research findings with regard to the contribution of people's participation to development are still controversial. While some studies assert positive outcomes, others suggest the opposite.

According to the research findings, some studies suggest that advantaged groups of people participate more in development activities. Among them females participate less than males. The advantaged groups also participate mainly in the decision-making processes, while the very poor participate in the labour-related area. The findings of these studies correspond with the concept of the radical paradigm that the benefits of participation often fall into the hands of the well-off. Since the advantaged groups participate more, fundamentally in decision making, they have a greater tendency to influence the direction and type of activity. Moreover, their decisions tend to reflect their own needs rather than the needs of disadvantaged groups of people in the community.

The studies also reveal that economic, social and political factors are the main determiners for participation; whereas, personal factors are key determiners for non-participation of the people in development activities. The findings regarding this aspect are similar in most studies. The effects of people's participation, however, seem to be split equally. While some studies conclude that participation is beneficial and can lead to the success of development project, other studies find the opposite. Different findings make it questionable whether the liberal or the radical concept of people's participation is more valid. Additional research is still needed in order to helps explain the effects of people's participation, particularly in a rural Thai setting.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This study examined people's participation in the SNOTRE project implemented in northern Thailand. The primary concern of the study was three main areas: the beneficiaries of the project; the determinants of participation and non-participation in project activities; and the socio-economic effects of participation. Since SNOTRE began as a pilot project in a single community, a purposive case study was adopted for the investigation. This approach allowed an opportunity for an intensive, in-depth study. Hence, data collection was primarily qualitative in form. Collection of data was chiefly conducted in the community where the researcher went and lived with the people. The strength of this type of research was "the comprehensiveness of perspective it gives the researcher" (Babbie, 1989, p.261). Rahman (1981) advocates that to study the context of people's participation, there is a need for qualitative examination in the field.

> To obtain these important data, it is necessary to go beyond conventional surveys, with predetermined questions, into probing dialogues that generate new questions and reveal issues in new lights. The understanding is enriched by the participants's critical reflection, in group as well as in individual-to-individual dialogues. They must be drawn into such critical reflection. The distinction between the researcher and researched is then eliminated, although the external researcher is entitled to draw his own independent conclusions from the research. (Rahman, 1981, p.5)

This kind of field study also offers the opportunity to probe social life in its "natural environment." Participant observation in the field makes it possible to observe subtle communications and other events that might not be anticipated or measured otherwise (Babbie, 1989, p.264; Spradley, 1980). Therefore, several forms of data collection approaches could be applied to qualitative study. These approaches are ethnographic interviews, participant observation, phenomenology, naturalistic inquiry, and participatory action research.

By and large, the above methodologies are interrelated, albeit the emphasis is different. The focus of each approach may be worth discussing briefly. The central aim of ethnography is to understand the people's "culture" - another way of life from the native point of view. While the ethnographic interview focuses on making inferences from what people say, the participant observation focuses on making inferences from what people do (Spradley, 1980, p.12). In phenomenology, the researcher tries to interpret someone's experience by interacting with that person, and attempts to see things from that person's point of view (Bogdan and Taylor, 1975). A naturalistic inquiry aims at understanding actualities, such as the social realities, and human perceptions that exist untainted by the obtrusiveness of formal measurements or preconceived questions. Qualitative research is naturalistic in that the researcher does not attempt to "manipulate the research setting" (Guba and Lincoln, 1981, p.41). Participatory action research (Rahman, 1985) aims at the modification of reality. Since development workers often treat people as the "object" of development, they can hardly treat people equally. The concept of participatory action research regards people participating in the research as equal "subject-subject" relationship. Application of such an approach for data collection can help break the "culture of silence", and hence provide reliable data.

Since there is no specific rule regarding research orientation that can be used in each study, adoption of an approach is based on research purposes, and "logic in use." In other words, data collection techniques depend upon the nature of the research questions, and what is to be investigated (Howe, and Eisenhart, 1990, p.6). In qualitative research, a combination of data collection approaches to inquiry can be employed, although a single one may predominate (Goetz and LeCompte, 1984).

In this case study of people's participation in SNOTRE project, a combination of data collection techniques was used as relevant, practical and appropriate to the research situation. A case study approach was adopted in this research as it was appropriate for intensive, in-depth examination of one or few instances of some phenomena (Goetz and LeCompte, 1984, p.46). Wilson (1979, p.448) posits that the basic generic quality of a case study is that it is: particularistic (it portrays events in a particular situation), holistic (it portrays the interplay of different features and forces as they bear on the topic of interest), longitudinal (it has a dynamic quality and tells a story over a period of time), and qualitative (it uses prose and literary techniques to describe data).

While adopting a qualitative approach for my data collection, I acknowledge the existence of certain limitations of this method, particularly with respect to generalizability of findings and possibility of researcher's bias and subjectivity. To address these limitations, I made every effort not to make premature conclusions until sufficient data had been collected and cross-validated. At the same time I allowed the possibility that some unanticipated issues might emerge from the situations in the village setting (Srinivas, et al., 1979; Spradley, 1980; Berg, 1989; Patton, 1990; Bogdan and Biklen, 1992).

The main methodologies for data collection, which seem to be more relevant to this case study, are ethnographic interview and participant observation. That is, my study was primarily an "ethnographic case study." In fact, the term "case study" and "ethnography" have been used interchangeably by several authors. Wolcott (1975) posits that:

> To the extent that the terms are used discretely, "case study" provides a handy and unassuming label, while the term "ethnography" suggests both a more comprehensive and detailed report and the perhaps unattainable ideal of a complete and perfect account. Any anthropological case study is more or less an ethnography (Wolcott, 1975, p.112).

In summary, this study employed the ethnographic case study as a research vehicle for exploring the participation of the people in the SNOTRE project.

Design of the Study

The site for this research was a village in Chiangrai province, northern Thailand. Selection of the village was purposive since the project was conducted at a pilot level in only one village in this region. From my initial visit to the village during the preliminary study in October 1991, it seemed that this village shared many characteristics of typical northern villages. For instance, most people in the village were paddy-rice farmers. Farm areas were poorly irrigated, and cultivation depended substantively on rainfalls. Very few children went to school beyond the compulsory level (Grade 6). Quite a few people went to work in Bangkok and other big cities after harvest time. These aspects were typical of most northern villages. Only one characteristic that might have been better from typical northern villages: it was not as poor a village as had been previously thought.

The scope of this study, and conduct of research in a single community, was typical for most ethnographic research (Spradley, 1980). Generally, the size of a northern Thai village ranges from 50 to 250 households. This village comprises 203 households, slightly larger than average. However, the area of the village itself was not very large since all the houses were located in one area, in close clusters.

The period of this study lasted seven months, from July 1992 to the end of January 1993. Key informants of the study were: participants and non-participants of the SNOTRE project, and local leaders. Identification of these individuals was based on a snowball technique and my observation. The sample size was not estimated a priori, but depended on "appropriateness" and "adequacy" of information needed from each group of informants. Since "there are no rules for sample size in qualitative inquiry" (Patton, 1990, p.184), interviews and observation were conducted until what was heard and learned was not new any more. Then, no further informants were required.

Although research questions were formulated, there was no rigid presumption or hypothesis about the study. As Srinivas, et al. (1979) contends:

> The field worker cannot anticipate the developments in the field which will inevitably guide the course of his investigations. Hypotheses formed without regard to these considerations may turn out to be trivial if not banal. Almost no contributor to this volume has been guided by hypotheses, and some confess that their theorizing was only post factum. What most field workers do is to go to the field with a grounding in the theory of the discipline, especially in the sub-area of their interest, and with as much knowledge of the region as can be derived from secondary material. The field then takes over, and the outcome depends on the interaction between the field worker and the field. (p.8)

Research Questions and Sources of Data

To examine the process and the effects of people's participation, the study outlined seven research questions. The research questions and sources of data for each question were as follows.

1) What is the nature of the SNOTRE project, and what are the project's assumptions in employing people's participation in its activities?

2) What types of program activities have been conducted in the target village, and what is the implementation process?

To address these two questions, the project proposal, reports, and other documents related to the project were examined. For the implementation processes and project activities, data were collected through interviews with staff workers at the regional and provincial NFE center, as well as from the project participants.

3) What group of people actually benefit from the notion of people's participation employed by the project, and from the project's activities?

This question was addressed through observation of the involvement of the people in the project activities, checking the lists of participants and examining of the gender, education, and SES background of the project participants. The SES background of the people was obtained from the "*kor chor chor song kor*" (village baseline data) form.

4) In what kind of activities do people participate? To what extent do they participate in the decision-making process and in project activities?

5) What are the key factors affecting participation, or non-participation of inhabitants of the village in the project activities?

The data for these two questions were collected by interviewing the participants, as well as observing project activities. Participation of people in the village activities was also observed and used for analysis.

6) What are the social, economic and political consequences of people's participation in the project?

The sources of data for this question were interviews with participants/non-participants of the project. Other ongoing activities in the village that related to the effects of the project were also examined.

7. What paradigm of development does this project reflect?

The answer to this question was acquired through a comparison and analysis of the national development paradigm adopted, and the practical implementation of the project activities in the community.

Data Collection

The data to be collected were related to the research questions as well as the social context of the community. Prior to the field study, I began with a search of relevant literature about the community and the people. Also I discussed the implementation of

SNOTRE with the project staff at the regional and provincial centers. The methods of data collection for this study, as relevant to the research questions, were primarily methods suggested for ethnographic research: in-depth, open-ended interviews; direct observation; and written documents (Patton, 1990, p.10; Spradley, 1980; Berg, 1989). In other words, I attempted to: understand the social realities and the people's perception in naturalistic situations; learn about their experience and see things from their own point of view; and communicate with the people from a "subject-subject" relationship, recognizing that people are capable of generating knowledge (Guba and Lincoln, 1981; Bogdan and Taylor, 1975; Fernandes and Tandon, 1981). At the same time, when applicable, the data obtained from the study were provided to the project staff workers as immediate feedback to reshape the project's subsequent activities in the community (Rahman, 1985).

In this study, the key instrument for data collection was the researcher. As suggested by Pelto and Pelto (1978, p.67), "the field worker is the principal research instrument, and the various methods of investigation are alternative techniques for objectifying and standardizing the field worker's perceptions." They also suggest that the techniques employed for data collection must be "adapted by the field worker to the special requirements of the local scene. There are no ready made instruments" (p.67). Still, as a framework, I prepared a broad interview schedule as a guideline for interviewing people.

Entering the community

Prior to my entry into the community, I learned from a colleague at NRNFEC that there had been a reshuffling of NFE workers in the province I was going to study. The NFE coordinator who I was supposed to work with had been transferred to another district, while the NFE teacher who previously worked in that village had gone to teach in the hill area. This worried me to some extent. Without these two key persons to assist me, I had to figure out everything about the village by myself. Had they been in the village, they could have helped me to establish rapport with the people, as well as provide the needed data about their work.

One week after my arrival in Thailand, I began a search for related documents about the SNOTRE project, as well as publications about northern people and their culture. This, at least, helped me to understand some aspects of the project, and the culture of the people in general. At the same time, I managed to have a letter from NRNFEC sent to the authority in the province informing about my research study in the village, and requesting cooperation if they were contacted by me. This letter proved to be helpful to me when I contacted Chiangrai PNFEC in the first week of July, 1992. The new NFE coordinator to the district I was going to study had not been assigned, so the director asked the former NFE coordinator to guide me to the village.

That day the former NFE coordinator led me to the village and introduced me to local leaders. The village head was not at home, so I was introduced to his wife, and later, to a deputy head. I felt that they welcomed me because of their favourable view of the NFE coordinator and her work in the village in the past. The coordinator asked them where I could stay in the village. They proposed three choices: live with a family which was a key participant of the project; stay in the temple; or live in the village *sala* (open-roofed building normally used as shelter or public meeting). I decided to stay in the sala as it was located at the center of the village, and I could be quite independent to do my study. Only there was no place for me to sleep. One person volunteered to make a small room in the *sala* for me. He promised that when I entered the village a week later, a room would be ready.

The following week, I went to the village alone wondering how I was going to live there. In a big box, I carried with me things I considered necessary for my stay: clothes, a blanket, a mosquito net, dishes, a knife, a rice cooker, flashlight, tape recorder and cassettes, my research proposal and books about research methodology, and notebooks. When I arrived in the village, the village head was not at home, so his deputy took me to the *sala*. I noticed that more than a dozen people were observing me from nearby houses and wondering what I was doing in the *sala*. The room was about two by three meters, walled by thin plywood with no door. I gave some money to the person who made the room to pay for the wood and his labour. A week later the same person added to the room a door made from corrugated iron on a bamboo frame. I learned later that the person who made the room was the village health volunteer. As the *sala* was used as a public health center, my stay in this place gave him the impression that I was someone from the public health office. When I explained to him that I was a student coming to study, his attitude towards me remained unchanged. I considered him a co-researcher, as well as a key informant.

The *sala* where I lived was built over a ditch, and was used for distributing contraceptives to village women every Wednesday. There was a hand-held water pump in front of the lodging. The water, however, was so rusty that after it was drawn up, it turned brown within minutes. I had to ask for drinking water from a nearby grocery shop, and water for taking a bath from a poor nice man living close to the *sala*. Cooking was very limited, and done in the same room as I slept. I could not leave any left-over food over night as there were numerous cockroaches, lizards, and rats. Mosquitoes were so plentiful that I had to sit down writing my fieldnotes on my lap in the mosquitoes net. Sometimes I wondered why I had adopted this approach of data collection for my research. Why didn't I choose an approach that I could stay with my family and mail out questionnaires for data collection?

This kind of thought occurred occasionally when I was frustrated. However, I occasionally thought that if I were to use survey methods which have limitations in revealing grassroots realities, how could I examine the participation of the people in a qualitative fashion? I admitted to myself that the approach I adopted was most appropriate for data collection in the topic of my study. It was a study to gain knowledge, not convenience.

The pros and cons of the data collection method became apparent to me occasionally depending on my mood and feelings at a particular time. It should be noted that as an outsider going to do a research in a village, my initial concern was how to gain the acceptance of the members of the community. I was first introduced to them by an NFE worker as a government official who came to do a research in their village. However, I made it clear to them that I came to the village as a student, and not as an official, to do a research study and to learn from them. They seemed to understand my point. I realized that without people's trust, collecting data would be very difficult. I began to establish my relationship with them first by talking with people living close to the *sala* (the centrally located community hall which became my residence for the duration of the study). Then I expanded my contacts throughout the village. My successful attempt to use their dialect and vocabulary broke down the feelings of strangeness between us. Some people helped me when I pronounced words incorrectly and explained the meanings to me when they felt I did not understand. I began to feel that I gained some acceptance gradually when I joined the after-dinner talk with them which people normally engaged in every evening. Sometimes they invited me to have dinner with them. In fact, a few persons often brought me some food once they knew that I could eat their northern food. By the second month, I began to feel quite comfortable walking around in the village, as well as with the methodology that I had adopted. The key methods for my data collection were: participant observation, unstructured interview, and document analysis.

Participant observation

The focus of observation was intended to be on the role of people in decision-making in local planning and the SNOTRE project activities; participation of the people in undertaking supplementary occupation as a result of the project; the roles of different groups of people in undertaking new occupations; and the relationship between/among people, the local leaders, and local government officials. Observation regarding the involvement of the people in SNOTRE activities was very limited at the time of my stay because the experimental phase of the project was over. In addition, people had undertaken supplementary occupations individually since 1991, the second year of the project implementation. Only in *saa* paper making, a group still exists. My observation was, therefore, focused on individual occupations, daily-life activities, culture, community events, and interaction or participation of people in village activities. I found that my observation of village meetings and other activities was very helpful to interpret the role of local leaders and villagers. It provided me with a clearer picture of what kind of involvement and roles they had in village activities generally. It also helped triangulate the data from other sources.

Since my stay in the village covered a considerable period of time (from July 1992 till January 1993, with occasional visits to my home in Lampang, NRNFEC and the Chiangrai PNFEC), I had some opportunities to immerse myself in their way of life. My involvement in ploughing paddy fields, planting rice, catching fish, and harvesting rice with farmers provided me with a good opportunity to be a closer participant observer.

Being aware of my duty as a researcher, I tried to keep a balance between the role of participant and observer (Spradley, 1980). That is, I participated at a moderate level so that I would not be regarded by the people as an absolute outsider. At the same time, I would avoid overloading myself with activities that would prevent me from observing and flexible mobility. Sharing common work allowed me to understand the people's point of view, and it facilitated the interview process at a later stage.

The feeling of loneliness and frustration disappeared when I felt more comfortable to wander anywhere in the village and paddy fields. People's concern was noticeable when I sometimes came back late in the evening. They were afraid I might be in danger. Their friendliness was expressed by their willingness to talk to me in the *sala* in the evening, or when they passed by. On some occasions, they brought food for me to eat.

As for observation, I observed and participated in several activities: in the village development day, meetings between public health workers and the people, a meeting of officials with the people regarding general election, monthly meetings in the village during the time of the study, funeral ceremonies, and sports competition. Except for two meetings conducted in the place where I lived, all other meetings were held in the temple.

Unstructured interviews

In-depth interviews were undertaken with key informants among each group: participants and non-participants of the SNOTRE project, and formal/informal leaders. The interview was fundamentally unstructured. As Babbie (1989) suggests, unstructured interviews are usually more appropriate to field research. However, an interview guide was developed to cover aspects that the study intended to examine. These aspects are: who are the beneficiaries of the project; are the intended target groups involved in the activities; how are the people's needs identified; how are development activities initiated;

and what are the consequences of the project's activities? (Cohen and Uphoff, 1980; Rahman, 1981; UNICEF, 1981). The interview covered key points in the interview guide to make sure that all the necessary data were collected, while still being open to other aspects of information that arose during the interview. Specific issues were explored through a "probing" technique depending on the situation while interviewing each informant. Also, while collecting data in Thailand, I periodically sought advice from my supervisor in Canada through mail correspondence regarding certain aspects to observe and investigate. His advice was taken into account and, helped pinpoint the focus for further investigation. I also reported aspects of my study to the supervisory committee occasionally.

Before the interview, I tried to find out who were the local leaders, and who were participants and non-participants of the project. As the relationship with people developed, I was able to figure out informants with less difficulty. The snowball technique was very helpful as people knew each other very well. Unusual cases were also sought. The time of the interview varied depending on each case and situation. An additional interview was conducted with cases that provided useful information, while no extra interview was attempted with cases that showed less promise.

According to my initial plan, I intended to interview only the local leaders, participants, and non-participants of the project. While collecting data, thinking that it would be helpful to better understand the project and the way development officials work in the village, I decided to interview NFE workers who were responsible for the project and development workers at the local level.

All together, I interviewed 52 villagers (35 middle-aged, 12 elderly and 5 youths). Within this group, 24 of them were males and 28 were females, comprising 32 participants and 20 non-participants. Nine of the informants were local leaders, and seven of them were participants of the project. I also interviewed seven NFE workers. One person works in the office in Bangkok, three work at NRNFEC, and three from PNFEC, including the former NFE teacher. Three interviews with the NFE workers were recorded, while 12 interviews with people were recorded verbatim. For the rest, the interviews were written down soon after the session.

Conducting the interviews was based mainly on convenience, and the working pattern of the people. During the daytime when younger people worked in the farm, I spent time talking and interviewing elder people and some housewives who stayed home doing household chores. Access to men and women was by occasional visits to the paddy field, and afternoon interviews when they came back from work. Evening time was spent talking informally with people in front of groceries and their houses. Talking to the youth was sometimes in late afternoon when they played soccer or "*takraw*" (kicking ball made of rattan) in the school playground.

Only four interviews (with a PNFEC staff, the former NFE teacher, the VH, and a villager) required an appointment. Most informants were willing to talk to me at the time I requested. Many people preferred to talk freely without a tape recorder, while some did not mind me recording their ideas. Interviews with the NFE staff were conducted primarily in their offices, but two were at home. For the village people, most interviews were conducted at their houses, a few were done in the lodging where I lived, and some in the paddy fields. In most cases, I had an opportunity to talk with them more than once. The data from subsequent talks with each person were added to that particular case.

Document analysis

Searching for documents pertaining to the village and the project was, in fact, my first step in data collection. Baseline data about the village was obtained from the

Information Center for Rural Development, Ministry of Interior through a contact with an official a few weeks before I returned to Thailand. By the time I arrived home, the data had already arrived. Reports about the project were acquired from staff workers at NRNFEC where I have been employed, and from Chiangrai PNFEC with the cooperative support of my colleagues. Subsequent papers about the project were gathered later when I came back to visit my home in Lampang, and NRNFEC.

Baseline data about the village, the "*kor chor chor song kor*" for the year 1991 were obtained from a CD worker at the district headquarters, a few weeks after my stay in the village, while the 1992 "*kor chor chor song kor*" data, which were not yet analyzed and merged into village data, were collected from the village head's office. On the day I had an appointment to interview the village head, he did not seem ready to be interviewed, so he offered me unanalyzed household data to examine.

A few more books on participation and development issues were obtained from my colleagues, and some were purchased from LDI (Local Development Institute) and ILO office in Bangkok when I went to a seminar at Thammasat University in November. These documents were examined while collecting data, and some were brought to Canada for later use in thesis writing and analysis.

Writing of Fieldnotes

Writing fieldnotes and interview responses was more strenuous than I thought. Since whatever going on in the *sala* could be noticed from the outside, I did not feel comfortable writing fieldnotes in front of people's eyes. Writing in my room was very uncomfortable since the room had no window; while the temperature was thirty celsius degree and mosquitos were plentiful. Spradley (1980) suggests that if the time and place is not convenient fieldnote writing could be in a condensed form, and later expanded to include more details. I took the second choice by writing condensed notes each day, and expanding them at night. Still this was not easy as people also expected me to go out and talk with them in the evening. I had time to start writing at 9 p.m. which was the time most people went to bed. I went to bed myself around midnight. As early as five o'clock in the morning, farmers were already up. This put pressure on me to shorten my sleeping time. Since everyone woke up quite early, I felt I could not sleep in.

The solution to my problem of fieldnote recording was a happenstance when I contacted the Education Office in the district headquarters two and a half kilometers away for some information about their involvement in the project activities. The Education Officer allowed me to use some office space for fieldnote writing. In September, I decided to take a motorcycle from home for this purpose, and to travel to the distant paddy fields as well. Having a writing space provided me with a better interviewing schedule. After the morning interview, I jotted down some condensed notes in the *sala*, and went to the Education Office to write down notes during lunch time and in the afternoon. Only an evening interview was written in the *sala* at night. My observations, subjective interpretations and reflections of events regarding the feelings, problems, ideas, impressions, and prejudices were also written in my research memos.

Writing of memos, fieldnotes and interviews was done in English as I thought I should not write in Thai and then spend time translating into English again. Transcription of the tape was typed directly into the computer using the Word Perfect program. I decided to transcribe the recorded interviews myself as some issues might be critical. One key informant even asked for my confirmation that I would be the one to listen to the tape before he felt free to express his opinion. Each informant was given a number code to keep the informant anonymous. The matching of the persons and codes was stored in the floppy disk to help identification of the person when doing analysis.

Validating the Data

To validate the data obtained from various sources, before leaving the village, part of the in-field analysis and initial findings were discussed with key informants as a check of validity to ensure a correct meaning and interpretation. Besides the casual talk with individuals, I had two occasions to discuss and validate my findings with groups of people. The first occasion was during lunch time in December 1992 when I harvested rice with a group of 12 persons. Another occasion was in January when a group of eight persons came to visit me and took a look at the pictures I took in the fields. When they asked me what were the things I learned from staying there, I discussed my initial findings with them and asked them to verify my conclusion. The person that I found to be most trustworthy to both provide me with additional information and cross-check the findings was the abbot of the village temple. Cross-checking of collected data was also done through triangulation (Goetz and LeCompte, 1984; Berg, 1989; Patton, 1990). Triangulation of methods also prevents the investigator from accepting too readily the validity of initial impressions. It enhances the scope, density, and clarity of constructs developed during the course of investigation.

In addition, I took into account the research standards suggested by Howe and Eisenhart (1990, p.8) that standards must be anchored wholly within the process of inquiry. That is, they must be anchored in "logics in use, in the judgements, purposes, and values that make up research activities themselves."

Data Analysis

Data analysis is a "process which entails an effort to formally identify themes and to construct hypotheses (ideas) as they are suggested by data and an attempt to demonstrate support for those themes and hypotheses" (Bogdan and Taylor, 1975, p.79).

Qualitative data analysis is an on-going process by which a researcher attempts to make sense out of the situations that cannot be predicted in advance - making initial observations, developing tentative general conclusions that suggest particular types of further observations, making those observations and thereby revising conclusions (Babbie, 1989; Roberts, 1976; Patton, 1990; Bogdan and Biklen, 1992). Analysis has to go beyond a description of the events. Mostly it depends on the researcher's knowledge of the situation and presentation of sufficient evidence for alternative interpretation.

All the documents relating to the project were read as soon as possible and data were analyzed at the initial stage. A part of my initial findings from the ongoing analysis, such as vocational needs of some villagers, unfair distribution of project funds, and fewer number of poor farmers participating in the project was given as a feedback to the former NFE worker who worked in the village when I visited the PNFEC. Confirmation of the data was sought from interviews with the NFE staff workers, villagers, and persons related to particular contents. Initial analysis led to subsequent data collection regarding certain aspects, and different sources of data were triangulated. An opportunity for several talks with some informants, and quite a few months of observation led to immersion of the context and meanings as insider which was needed for an in-depth study.

When doing data analysis, I applied the steps suggested by Patton (1990) and Bogdan and Biklen (1992). The process of data analysis after the field work began with a re-reading of all the fieldnotes, interviews, and observation notes already typed into Word Perfect files. I discovered that the sorting of the voluminous data could also be done in Word Perfect if material was properly coded. Categorical coding was assigned to the top of each paragraph in all files according to classified topics. The coding was according to the issues related to research questions. I came up with 102 sub-categories. Then, topics related to one another were grouped under a broader category. Altogether

16 categories were classified, with 102 sub-categories. Numerical numbers were then assigned to the broad categories and sub-categories where the same digits were assigned to the same categories. If a particular content could be classified in more than one category, related coding numbers were given to that content. After that all the files were retrieved and combined into one file, and the sorting function was operated to move all the same code numbers to one area. The coded data, however, could be shuffled, sifted and sorted again by assigning or replacing numerical codes, and using search and replace command in the computer to organize the data until a meaningful relationship of the parts and phenomena become evident. Through this method, all the data regarding the same phenomena from different files were move to one area, and then saved under new names. This made it possible to find the data for a specific topic within a short time, and decreased the possibility of omitting particular data for analysis of a certain phenomenon.

While analyzing the data, I was aware of my own subjectivity and possible bias. Premature conclusions were avoided until all possible interpretations had been examined. The two competing perspectives of people's participation which guided this study were used as theoretical framework for the analysis and interpretation.

Summary

In this chapter I described the design of my study, research questions, and how I sought to answer the questions. My establishment of rapport with the people, entry to the village, my field residence, and fieldnote writing were described. The main methods for data collection were document analysis, participant observation, and unstructured interview. Finally, I discussed methods of data validation, data processing and analysis.

CHAPTER IV

THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE SNOTRE PROJECT

The SNOTRE Project

Background of the Project

One of the main functions of the Department of Nonformal Education (DNFE), Ministry of Education, Thailand is to provide vocational programs for people, particularly those in rural areas. Systematic vocational training for the out-of-school population was initially offered in the form of Mobile Trade Training Schools (MTTS) in the early 1960s. The MTTS were to provide skills training and improved employment opportunities for out-of-school rural youths and young adults, in an attempt to meet the increasing requirements for semiskilled and skilled workers foreseen in the national development plan (Coombs and Ahmed, 1974). The schools began in rural towns, particularly in sensitive areas where communists were active, and later expanded to provincial centers throughout the country. The training courses included: dressmaking, auto-mechanics, tailoring, radio repair, electric wiring and installation, cosmetology and hair dressing, food preparation, welding, typing, bookkeeping, barbering, embroidery, and woodwork. It was assumed that after the training, the trainees would be able to make a living based on the knowledge they learned from the course (Papagiannis, 1977).

Theoretically, an MTTS was intended to provide training courses at one specific location for a period of one to three years. Then it would relocate to another place to offer vocational training courses for people in the new location. Practically, MTTS was only mobile in the sense that their equipment and staff moved from one town to another. Since all areas outside metropolitan Bangkok, at that time, even large provincial cities were considered "rural" by people in Bangkok, MTTS never moved to the district or village level (Coombs and Ahmed, 1974). In any case, the rural population hardly benefited from the courses offered by MTTS. An analysis of MTTS by Papagiannis (1977) suggests that it served as a "cooling out" function, and could not provide a sense of long-term economic and political well-being for its participants.

After the establishment of the Department of Nonformal Education in 1980, regional and provincial NFE centers were founded. The MTTS was a part of the new department. In the provinces where an MTTS existed, it automatically transformed into the Provincial Life-Long Education Center. Later, the name was changed to Provincial Nonformal Education Center (PNFEC). Although the PNFEC target is rural people, the nature of vocational training remains unchanged. Fundamentally, many vocational courses are still conducted at PNFEC. The courses offered are more or less the same as those offered by MTTS. Vocational courses were offered according to the availability of resource persons rather than the needs of the people involved (Papagiannis, 1977; Bernard and Armstrong, 1979). These courses serve mainly those in cities and municipal areas.

As for rural people, there was an attempt to provide short-course training in the form of an Interest Group. An Interest Group is a locally-designed course of no more than 30 hours. The course can include any vocational training or topic depending on the interest of the group. About 15 individuals can form a group to learn vocational skills, and find a resource person themselves (DNFE, 1981). The PNFEC helps to pay the instructor and cover the expense of the training. Another form of vocational training for rural people is intermediate short-course training of about 100-300 hours, which is similar to courses offered at PNFEC. The number of courses and frequency is, however, limited. With the limitation of personnel and equipment, these courses are offered only on a small scale, and at limited locations.

The Department of Nonformal Education was aware of this phenomenon, and tried to adjust its vocational programs to meet the needs of rural people. In 1984, DNFE, in a collaborative effort with the International Labour Organization (ILO), organized a workshop to review vocational training for rural people. After the workshop both ILO and DNFE concluded that concerted action was required in an attempt to review and re-orient occupational training components of the NFE program to make it more relevant to the needs of the people it was attempting to serve.

In order to appraise the scope of assistance required for improvement, DNFE and ILO conducted a field visit to evaluate the existing vocational NFE programs in several provinces. After the field visit, the representatives from both organizations admitted that a reasonable skill base existed in rural areas as a result of the NFE vocational programs. However, the skill base itself could not be regarded as an indicator of a wider employment promotion policy which was the final objective of the nonformal education scheme. They suggested that vocational training programs for rural people should respond more to local needs, and should maximize the use of local resources and raw material during the training period.

It was noted that NFE vocational training programs could not meet these objectives due to some limitations. While the programs succeeded in reaching disadvantaged groups in rural areas, some problems still remained. These problems were: (1) limited coverage of the target groups; (2) irrelevance to the local needs and living conditions; (3) exclusive emphasis on skills training; (4) poor quality of instruction and learning materials; and (5) lack of participation of the people and community in program planning and implementation phases (DNFE, 1988, p.6). These problems were seen to be responsible for the low effectiveness of out-of-school vocational education in the areas of income generation and employment.

Proposal for the SNOTRE Project

Based on the above concerns and the limitation of existing NFE vocational training programs, a vocational training project was proposed to UNDP for financial assistance in 1988. The purpose of the project was to revise nonformal vocational training programs, and to develop a curriculum that would actually promote rural employment (DNFE, 1992). The UNDP supported the proposal, and the SNOTRE project was established. The SNOTRE project was to be experimented in four regions of the country and was designed to run from 1989 until 1991. The target beneficiaries of the project were out-of-school youths, women, and those in the workforce with primary education or less. The main objective of the SNOTRE project, as stated by DNFE (1988, p.10), was to "tackle the problems of rural poverty and unemployment by improving the effectiveness of nonformal vocational education in upgrading the competencies of the unskilled, unemployed or underemployed population to become gainfully employed and to supplement their income." The specific objectives of the project were:

1) To review ongoing nonformal education programs and develop a more effective strategy for the promotion of rural employment.

2) To increase the competency of staff workers in managing vocational education.

3) To increase the competency of training and operation staff in the four provincial nonformal education centers.

4) To implement new vocational education strategies in the four designated provinces.

This vocational training package comprised two main components: the training of NFE staff workers who were responsible for vocational education, and the implementation of the new vocational model in four regions on an experimental basis. To train the staff, three groups of NFE personnel from the administrative level down to provincial staff workers were provided with an opportunity for a short-study visit to countries in east and southeast Asia. After the visit, they applied the knowledge and experience they gained to develop and implement the SNOTRE project. At the operational level, the project was meant to be designed and implemented in four provinces, one from each geographical region, except the central region where the problem of poverty is less acute.

Assumptions and Strategies

In assessing existing NFE vocational programs, one consideration was to learn to what degree the programs actually served the needs of the people. Among those who took vocational courses at PNFECs, only a few actually applied their new skills to their work situation. Moreover, course participants were mostly people in municipal areas. Short-course training sessions, albeit flexible, were too short and lacked accompanying skills essential for occupational development. Consideration was focused on how to extend vocational programs to rural people, and what format seemed practical and feasible. The design of the new program placed an emphasis on how to provide training skills with income-generating possibilities, and how to sustain the new occupations. In order to achieve sustainability of the occupations promoted, the project adopted the following strategies (DNFE, 1988, p.8).

1) Responsiveness to the needs of local people, their conditions and opportunities. While most vocational courses offered by DNFE were based on the availability of instructors, equipment and curricula, SNOTRE placed an emphasis on identifying local needs, conditions and opportunities and using them as a basic tool in program planning.

2) Emphasis on human resource development rather than skills training. Although the project proposed to tackle the immediate problem of poverty and unemployment, it recognized that long-term solutions to these problems relied upon the ability of rural

population to maximize the use of available local resources, information, and skills. It was also affected by their ability to manage their businesses effectively. The project, therefore, did not focus solely on the training of specific skills, but sought to develop a more comprehensive capability in learners so that they could deal with the problem of poverty and unemployment on their own.

3) Opportunities for community participation. In order to prepare learners and the community to cope with the problem of poverty and unemployment, the project encouraged active participation of learners and local leaders in: the identification of needs; the organization of training courses; the management of activities; and the assessment and evaluation of the program. It was expected that involvement of the people would not only enhance their support for the project, but also their self-reliance.

These strategies sound practical in any rural development project, as it has to respond to the needs of people, with emphasis being placed on community participation and human development. The problem which often occurs is determining to what extent such strategies can actually be put into practice. In most cases, the issue of community participation is often endorsed without adequacy of methodologies to involve people, particularly the marginalized, in development processes (Hirsch, 1989; Turton, 1987; Dusseldorp, 1981).

According to project strategy, the areas of vocational training would stem from the needs of the people, and their work conditions. Emphasis was placed on the involvement of people and local leaders in identifying their needs, and the vocational areas in which they would like to be trained, so that they could solve the problem of poverty and unemployment by themselves. The key strategy was to involve people in the project activities, and in the decision-making process. The involvement of potential beneficiaries in development processes is believed to be more effective, and henceforth lead to an improvement in the living conditions of rural people.

Although the new program did not outline specifically what assumptions were taken into account, the project approach and strategies implicitly revealed several underlying assumptions. It contemplated that occupational-training programs designed for rural people had to be responsive to the needs of the people, and be conducted in their own communities. The programs had to be geared towards either income-generation via a supplementary occupation, or towards the reduction of the household's expenses. An emphasis had to be placed on developing the ability of people through the involvement of villagers and local leaders in identifying their needs, and organizing vocational activities. Besides skills training, an occupational-promotion program had to include such areas as business management, accounting, and marketing. It was also assumed that rural farmers lack financial resources for occupational investment, and might not be willing to take a risk by investing their own money in a new occupation. To motivate them to undertake a supplementary occupation, a revolving fund provided without interest would be essential for their decision to participate in occupational development activities. These assumptions were either implicitly suggested in the project plan, or were indicated as a component of project implementation.

Project Preparation

The preparation of the project began as soon as the project proposed by DNFE was approved by UNDP in June 1989. The Department set up a working committee to outline a specific project workplan. The working principle of the project was to utilize local organizations' support of the project's plan to increase the income of target groups, and reduce their daily expenses. The project would operate in the form of action research. To ensure the effectiveness of the project, essential aspects were prepared. These included personnel development in vocational training, organizational and technical support.

Personnel Training

To equip NFE staff with the knowledge and skills to run the project, staff workers responsible for the project at all levels were trained in the area of their responsibility. Some had an opportunity for overseas training and study trips, while most staff workers were trained at home. For an overseas training, three groups of administrators and staff workers took a study trip to nearby countries in east and southeast Asia (DNFE, 1992).

The first group comprised two high-ranking administrators from the Department. They went to China, Korea, and Japan for two weeks (November 7-23, 1989) to observe nonformal vocational training in those countries. The second group constituted six persons who were directors of regional NFE Centers, and project coordinators in the Department. They took a study trip to Korea and the Philippines to learn about small enterprise developments in those countries from June 3 to 13, 1990. The last group, comprising 12 NFE staff workers and directors, took a study trip to the Philippines and Japan to examine nonformal vocational instruction in the areas of agriculture, industry and handicraft arts from January 20, 1991 to February 2, 1991. It was assumed that they would apply the experience of their overseas observation to their work in the SNOTRE project.

At the same time, those who were responsible for the project at the regional and provincial NFE centers, as well as the local NFE teachers were involved in several training sessions and workshops in the area according to their responsibility. The training was in three main categories: community survey and needs assessment, needs analysis, and curriculum development.

The training for the community survey and needs assessment was conducted by DNFE, and comprised 45 NFE workers who were responsible for the implementation of the project. These NFE workers were from the central office, regional and provincial centers, and NFE teachers. They were trained to develop an instrument for the community survey. Training for needs analysis was conducted at regional NFE centers. By and large, most of them were involved in the community survey training. The session placed an emphasis on qualitative data collection (observation and interview), and an analysis of local needs. Curriculum development training emphasized construction of curriculum based upon direct experience. Two curriculum training sessions were conducted. The curriculum for the SNOTRE project comprised two parts: basic life skills in occupational undertaking, and instrumental skills for a particular occupation. The training involved both theoretical input and actual practice.

Organizational Support

To implement and administer the project, working committees at the central office as well as the regional and provincial centers were set up. Advisory committees at the provincial, district, and village levels were also established to facilitate the project.

The working committee in the NFE Department was responsible for the overall administration of the project; coordination with support agencies; and workshops and seminars concerning project preparation and administration. Guidelines for project implementation were developed so that each participating region could adapt and/or adjust strategies to fit its own conditions.

The working committee at the regional center comprised the director, a deputy director, section heads, and a few staff members responsible for the project. The committee of 15 members was responsible for the community survey, needs assessment and analysis, curriculum development, learning materials, supervision, follow up and evaluation.

The counterpart of the working committee at the provincial center, similar to that of the regional center, comprised the director, deputy, section head, a few staff members, and an NFE coordinator of the district where the project was implemented. The committee was responsible for the implementation of the project. The PNFEC was mainly responsible for the project operation: planning activities; conducting vocational trips and training; providing resource persons and revolving funds; following up and supervising activities at the local level.

The persons responsible for the work of the project at the local level were the NFE district coordinator and NFE teacher. The coordinator helped organize activities and visited the village regularly while the latter organized project activities intensively in the village.

Project Consultants

To assist the work of the NFE workers and target population, the project hired a number of specialists to provide consultation at each level. In terms of academic training, the project hired two retired scholars who specialized in project evaluation and curriculum development. The consultants helped train the NFE staff workers at the regional and provincial centers in the areas of needs assessment, construction of instruments for the community survey, needs analysis, action research, and construction of curriculum and learning materials for rural people.

Four occupational specialists in the areas of agriculture, industry, and handicraft arts were also hired for eight months to provide advice in occupational promotion in the areas of their specialization. These consultants provided advice to the participants of the project. In addition, each of the four provincial centers also hired local professionals. The local consultants provided skills training and business management related to their particular specialization so that project participants would be equipped with the necessary skills and knowledge to undertake a supplementary occupation.

Implementation of SNOTRE in the North

In the northern region, the project was to be implemented in Chiangrai province. In preparation, the Chiangrai PNFEC proposed that the project be included in the "provincial development plan" in 1990. Typically, the plan concentrates development activities in "extremely less-developed villages." Ideally, development organizations in the province would focus their activities in the villages included in the provincial development plan. Having the project included in the plan means that more activities from other organizations could take place in the village and cooperation with related organizations would be feasible.

Advisory Committee

To attain cooperation and support from other development agencies in the province, it was essential to make the project known to them. The Chiangrai PNFEC appointed an advisory committee for the project at the provincial, district and village levels, respectively.

The advisory committee at the provincial level was composed of the governor (as chairman of the committee), and heads of organizations from the six main ministries (education, public health, interior, agriculture, industry, and commerce). This committee comprised 14 members, functioning to support and promote the implementation of the project, as well as to provide suggestions concerning the project. The committee was considered essential for the operation as its members could support the project by focusing their activities in the same community. The advisory committee at the district level comprised 18 members, namely the district officer, heads of organizations from the six main ministries, the *tambon* head, local principal, and other members. They cooperated with the project by organizing activities in the designated village. Some of the advisory committee members, particularly the District Education Officer, were also involved in the supervision of project activities in the village.

At the village level, the committee was composed of 19 members. The majority of them were village committee members. The committee was considered helpful in encouraging people to be involved in project activities. It would act as an intermediary to create understanding between the officials and people in the village. The committee's function was to organize occupational groups, consider occupational projects, and appraise proposals seeking loans from the project's funds (NRNFEC, 1991; DNFE, 1992).

Within the provincial NFE Center, a working committee of 10 members was set up to administer the project. The committee was responsible for all activities of the SNOTRE project, including planning project activities, selecting a village, conducting a needs assessment, implementing project activities, supervising, and evaluating the project. By and large, PNFEC got some technical support from the regional NFE center in Lampang.

To ensure the continuity of the work, the Chiangrai PNFEC assigned an NFE coordinator to work in the district where the project took place. The coordinator helped organize SNOTRE project activities. She visited the village monthly to provide suggestions and follow up activities. In addition, an NFE teacher was also assigned to work and coordinate with villagers in the targeted community (CNFEC, 1991). Although the NFE teacher had to teach adult literacy class and take care of other NFE activities, special attention was given to the implementation of the SNOTRE project. She also coordinated the work between villagers and NFE coordinator, the district, and PNFEC

(NRNFEC, 1990; DNFE, 1992).

Village Selection

Since the project experiment was in one village, there was a need to decide where the project should take place. The criteria for selection of the village as set forth by DNFE (NRNFEC, 1990) were that:

- the community is in the less-developed village category, preferably;
- more than 80 per cent of those who finish grade 6 do not further their study;
- there is an entrepreneur or private enterprise in the area or surrounding area;
- transportation to and from the village is convenient;
- there is an NFE teacher in the community;
- there is a village reading center in the village;
- there is an NGO agent working in the area; and
- the size of the community is in the range of 150-200 households, ideally.

Using the above criteria, by August 10, 1989, five villages were proposed as sites for the experiment. Baseline data for each village were obtained from the provincial *kor chor chor song kor* (village baseline data) form. This form provides detailed information about all the villages in the province, and classifies the villages into three categories according the degree of urgency needed for development efforts. The final selection of the village was done by the provincial advisory committee on the recommendation of the PNFEC.

The meeting of the committee on August 18, 1989 suggested that the proposed villages were not in the extremely less-developed category. The committee suggested a reconsideration of the villages. Based on the *kor chor chor song kor* data, and a brief visit by the NFE staff from the regional and provincial centers to the tentative villages, Salt

Lick Village was finally selected as the experimental site of the SNOTRE project. The reasons given by the Chiangrai PNFEC were (NRNFEC, 1990, p.3.1):

(1) The households in the village are located in cluster which is easy for group participation.

(2) The targeted population aged 15-35 which totalled 190 persons would be living in the village at the time of the project initiation.

(3) Transportation to and from the village is convenient as it is 54 kilometers from Chiangrai and 42 kilometers from Phayao. It is only two and a half kilometers from the district office.

(4) Other development organizations in the district showed interest in the project, and promised to cooperate.

(5) The village head and Village Committee were eager to have the project in the village, and were willing to cooperate.

(6) Most villagers grow rice. Some did not have a supplementary occupation after harvest time.

(7) Many villagers possess technical skills, particularly in the areas of bamboo handicrafts, fishnet making, sewing, and carpentry.

Needs Assessment

After the final decision was made to select Salt Lick Village, NFE staff workers from NRNFEC and PNFEC began to develop an instrument for the needs assessment. Data collection was done by staff workers from the regional and provincial centers on three occasions: November 19-22, 1989; December 13-14, 1989; and March 18-22, 1990. The data were analyzed and used as a guideline to determine what kind of curriculum and vocational training would correspond to the villagers' needs.

From the survey data, the NFE staff concluded that the main problem of the people in Salt Lick Village was that they did not have an extra income after harvesting rice. They summarized the factors as: (1) lack of water for planting, and poor quality of soil which is not appropriate for fruit trees; (2) lack of marketing knowledge about how to sell products; (3) lack of good leadership to help people deal with and confront problems; (4) lack of vocational information; and (5) lack of development activities targeted for this village since 1985.

The analysis of the village data suggested that activities to be conducted in the village should be in the areas of: agricultural promotion, such as mixed farming, kitchen gardening, mushroom growing, chicken and fish raising; and vocational guidance for the people so that they could see other occupational opportunities; skills development and training (NRNFEC, 1990). The NFE workers prioritized the occupational needs of people in Salt Lick Village as: (1) mushroom growing, particularly rice-straw mushroom, since raw materials in the village were plentiful; (2) *saa* papermaking because *saa* trees were available in the northern region; (3) paper flower making that would expand *saa* papermaking; (4) bamboo hat making; and (5) fishnet making (DNFE, 1992, p.17).

Vocational-Study Trips

Before they could encourage people to undertake a new or supplementary occupation, the NFE workers were aware that they had to provide some information for people about the occupational opportunities. To do this, the project adopted two approaches for vocational guidance. First, the project provided people with printed materials and tape cassettes concerning occupational development. The printed materials were placed in the village reading center, while the tape cassettes were broadcast through the village loudspeakers. When people showed an interest in a particular occupation, the

NFE workers organized them into groups according to their interests.

The next stage was to broaden the people's perspectives concerning various occupations that interested the villagers by conducting vocational-study trips to private entrepreneurs and farms. In order to organize this type of activity, staff workers at the provincial NFEC had to survey entrepreneurs in Chiangrai and Phayao provinces and ask for cooperation should the people desire to visit their business. When they went to the village, they asked local leaders what occupations they would like to visit.

The NFE coordinator had a list of entrepreneurs and private farms so that she could suggest occupations, names and places of entrepreneurs that they could visit. It was assumed that the opportunity to visit private enterprises would help people obtain some idea about these occupations. The strategy was to arouse the villagers' interest about occupations that they might consider trying later. Five groups were formed to join the occupational-study trips (NRNFEC, 1992, p.66-67). The groups and occupations they visited are as follows (see also in Table 3 for a summary).

Five trips in all were organized and undertaken as follows:

1) The mushroom growing group. This group comprised 17 persons who visited a mushroom farm in Mae-Jan District, Chiangrai on January 23, 1990.

2) The bamboo handicraft group. There were 20 persons in this group. On February 16, 1990, the group took a study trip to Muang and Dok Kamtai districts, Phayao province visiting villages where people made bamboo hats and baskets.

3) The *saa* (mulberry) papermaking group. Five days after the bamboo handicraft group came back, another group comprising 14 persons went to see *saa* papermaking in Chiangrai.

4) The animal raising group. On December 20, 1990, another group comprising 25 persons went to Paan District, Chiangrai. They visited an animal farm to see hog,

Table 3

Occupations Visited By People From Salt Lick Village

Occupations	Study Trips		
	Male	Female	Total
Mushroom	15	2	17
Saa paper	1	13	14
Bamboo handicraft	-	20	20
Hog raising Chicken raising } Fish raising	8	17	25
Paper flower making	3	2	5
Total	27	54	81

Source: Compiled from *Klum* leaders and DNFE (1992, p.32).

chicken, and fish raising.

5) The paper flower making group. After the production of *saa* paper, a small group of five persons went to the city to see paper flower making.

These vocational-study trips helped people to understand how the owners ran their business. The people learned about production techniques, materials needed for production, investment cost and profit, management of the business, and marketing of the product. This information was helpful for the people to make a decision when they decided to undertake a new occupation.

Besides occupational trips, the NFE coordinator and NFE teacher also took the Village Committee members to visit other places where extensive NFE activities were ahead in progress. This was to create understanding among the leaders regarding NFE activities and to gain support for the project. The NFE teacher also taught a literacy class in the village. It helped the NFE coordinator and NFE teacher to know more people, and it eased their work in the SNOTRE project.

Occupational Training and Undertaking

While vocational training in the past focused only on technical skills, the new approach intended to provide people with both technical skills, as well as knowledge about marketing, accounting and occupation management. When the villagers returned from the vocational-study trips, each group of people discussed the trips, and indicated if they were interested in the occupations they had visited. If they showed some interest in an occupation, the PNFEC would contact a resource person to help with the training.

People who were interested in the training would register their names with the NFE teacher who coordinated information between the people and PNFEC. Most training courses were conducted in the village, but two were conducted where the trainers resided. Some people undertook a supplementary occupation after the training. Some hesitated and tried another training course, and others waited for some time before making a decision. Additional training courses, besides the occupations they had visited, were also proposed by people and the NFE workers. The training courses and occupations people undertook were (NRNFEC, 1992):

1) Rice-straw mushroom growing. Mushroom growing was the first course offered during February 13-15, 1990, less than a month after the study trip. At first, the training was conducted in three groups in the housing areas. When more people participated, some tried to grow mushrooms in their fields. The resource person was from NRNFEC.

In the past, a few people in the village used to grow mushrooms, but only for household consumption. When the project conducted the training quite a number of people participated, 35 in total. After the training, 16 persons continued growing mushrooms and formed six small groups. In the initial stage, there was not sufficient rice-straw since most people burned straw after harvest. It was also difficult for people to go to the city to buy mushroom mycelium. The NFE coordinator helped buy the mycelium for them occasionally. Some people proposed that it would be easier if they were able to make mycelium by themselves. The NFE coordinator arranged this training for the people.

2) *Nangrom* mushroom mycelium making. This training course was intended to help those who grew mushroom to be able to make mycelium by themselves. One of the staff workers at NRNFEC specialized in this area. Therefore, five persons were sent to NRNFEC to be trained for five days. Upon their return, they brought to the village the mycelium they had learned to make.

Within this group four were able to make mycelium by themselves. Sometimes they sold mycelium to other people in the village. When they ran out of rice-straw, they re-used the straw that had already been used for rice-straw mushrooms to grow *nangrom* mushrooms.

3) *Saa* papermaking. After the study trip to see saa papermaking, the people analyzed the possibility of producing paper themselves. They perceived that *saa* paper was a good prospect. Since raw materials (mulberry trees) were available in the region, they decided to form a group, and request PNFEC to provide some training. The Chiangrai PNFEC contacted the owner of the place they visited earlier and asked her to help with the training. Six persons were sent to be trained for four days from March 19-22, 1990.

When they came back eight persons shared their money - 200 baht each for initial investment. PNFEC supported the people with a machine and equipment for paper production. The first group comprised six persons. Their former trainer was temporarily hired by the project as a resource person when people started to produce *saa* paper in the village. Initially, the paper production was quite favourable. The paper produced was sold to the trainer, and sometimes people participated in the arts and handicrafts fair in Bangkok and in the province where they had quite good sales. Two more groups were set up. However, the second group ceased in less than two months due to low profit.

4) Kitchen gardening and fruit-tree grafting. This short training course was conducted in May, 1990. Kitchen gardening was basically a "how-to" information while grafting, involved a demonstration and some skills training. Fifteen and seventeen individuals respectively participated in these two areas of training. The resource persons were from the agricultural office in the district. Prior to the training, some families had grown vegetables and spices in their backyards for consumption. After the training, a few grew some vegetables in their household areas. The purpose of kitchen gardening was basically to provide produce for family consumption.

5) Animal raising (chicken, and fish raising). The training involved a meeting of interested persons with a resource person in chicken and fish raising. There were 34 persons who participated in this meeting. The training did not involve technical skills, but was focused in areas related to care of animals. The discussion covered a variety of topics concerning raising and marketing. By and large, people had some experience in chicken raising, and some raised fish naturally in a pond in their paddy fields. After the training, a few of them began to dig a pond to raise fish. A few tried raising commercial chicken, but faced a problem with disease. Later they turned to raise local breed chicken as before.

6) Paper flowers making. This training was to transform the saa paper they produced into paper flowers. Fifteen women participated in the training during September 11-24, 1990. The training was intended to provide extended support to the papermaking

group so that they could use the paper to do something else to earn some money. Besides making flowers, they were also trained to make wreaths for funeral ceremonies. After the training was over, only a few ladies continued to make paper flowers occasionally. Sometimes, they sold flowers to people who came to visit the village. Two of them, however, tried to sell flowers and wreaths to shops in the city. They did not find a place that would take their products regularly.

7) Cloth sewing. Fourteen women participated in this 100-hour training program from January 16 to March 6, 1991. When the training was over, only two persons were able to gain extra income occasionally from sewing or repairing clothes for neighbours. In fact, these two ladies had previous skills in sewing, and people used to asked them to repair clothes even before the training. Others could not apply the skills as a supplementary occupation since people normally bought tailored-made clothes.

8) Clay pot making. Seven men and three women participated in clay pot making during March 19-30, 1991. The trainers were from the Industrial Promotion Office in the province. The training was intended to enable people to make clay pots and jars for household use, as well as for sale. However, people found that they could not sell the products and stopped making pots soon afterwards. A few persons quit the training because they became 'seasick' from the motion when they worked on the rotary machine.

9) Stitching. Fourteen women participated in stitching during August 19-30, 1991. Many of women in this group participated in cloth sewing before. None of them were able to apply the skills as a supplementary occupation in stitching.

10) Cement block making. This course was offered in January, 1992. Ten persons participated in the training. Only one person actually tried to make cement blocks after the training. He made a new toilet from the cement blocks he made, and planned to make a room on the ground floor.

Table 4

Study Trips, Training Courses, and Occupations Undertaken by People

Occupations	Study Trips			Training			Undertaking		
	M	F	Ttl	M	F	Ttl	M	F	Ttl
Mushroom	15	2	17	26	9	35	18	6	24
Mushroom mycelium	-	-	-	3	2	5	2	2	4
Saa paper	1	13	14	-	6	6	-	8	8
Bamboo handicraft	-	20	20	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kitchen gardening	-	-	-	15	-	15	-	-	-
Plant grafting	-	-	-	17	-	17	-	-	-
Hog raising				-	-	-	5	15	20
Chicken raising)	8	17	25	16	3	*19	3	1	4
Fish raising				15	-	*15	7	-	7
Paper flower making	3	2	5	-	15	15	-	6	6
Cloth sewing	-	-	-	-	14	14	-	2	2
Clay pot making	-	-	-	8	2	10	-	-	-
Cement blocks making	-	-	-	7	3	10	-	-	-
Cloth knitting	-	-	-	-	14	14	-	-	
Total	27	54	81	107	68	**175	35	40	**75

Source: Adjusted from DNFE, 1992, p.220-221; NRNFEC, 1992, p.127-128, listing only new occupations.

Note: * explanatory training session

** some persons participated in more than one kind of training. The actual number of persons undertaking occupations was 53.

Altogether twelve occupational training courses were offered to people, nine of which involved technical skills training. All of them covered the topic of business management and marketing which were considered essential for the occupational promotion of rural people. The training and occupational undertaking at the initial stage are summarized in Table 4.

In addition, during March 5-7, 1991, the occupational consultants from the Department of Nonformal Education came to the village to advise project participants in the areas of marketing and occupational management. The topics covered basic accounting, calculating of investment cost and profit, testing the quality of the products, and working as a group.

During the training sessions, the NFE workers from NRNFEC observed and recorded the training contents, then the details were verified by the resource persons. The contents were later transformed into vocational curriculum and learning materials by staff workers at NRNFEC. The curricula and learning materials thus developed could be used with other groups in different villages. Altogether, seven vocational curricula were developed by NRNFEC. These curricula were: *saa* papermaking, rice-straw mushroom growing, mushroom mycelium making, bamboo basket making, fishnet making, fishtrap making, and cement block making. Some of the curricula, such as fishnet making and bamboo basket making, were derived from the occupations some people did in the village.

It should be mentioned that the SNOTRE project organizers wanted to encourage a group process among those starting supplementary occupational activities. Participants were encouraged to form occupational groups. Each group had a committee comprising of a chairperson, deputy chairperson, secretary, treasurer, public relations, and group members. The setup of a group was meant to encourage teamwork and cooperation among members. When people participated in group activities, they could divide or share the work and responsibility. In mushroom growing, for instance, a person who was skillful at selling could be assigned to sell mushrooms while other members prepared rice straw or mycelium for mushroom growing.

In order to obtain funding, a participant had to be a group member. The group could then request for revolving funds for initial investment on behalf of group participants. In practice, people joined groups and help one another with the production only in papermaking and mushroom growing. In other areas, people joined a group in name but undertook the occupation individually. Even with mushroom growing, once people became quite skillful, they separated from the group and did the work individually. The short lifespan of the group stemmed from different amounts of time each person worked, the people's habit of working individually, and the complication caused by the need to keep a working record and group accounts.

Although training was given for several occupations, only a few of these were, in fact, adopted as supplementary occupations by participants completing the training. Some of the training skills were not applied to a new occupation. Further, at the beginning, there were quite a number of people undertaking an occupation (Table 4). Later, some people ceased the activity due to unproductive results or low profit. There were also a few people who did not initially participate, but subsequently undertook a supplementary occupation.

In terms of the number of people undertaking supplementary occupations, different sources reported their numbers differently. One report counted kitchen gardening, fruit-tree grafting, cloth sewing, and other inactive activities as supplementary occupations. According to this report, 128 persons were mentioned as undertaking new occupations (NRNFEC, 1991, p.128). Another report counted fishnet making, the traditional free-time job that people had done for decades, among newly adopted supplementary occupations.

Another report concluded that 53 persons undertook new occupations (DNFE, 1992, p.220-221). Some of those who undertook supplementary occupation did not received funds from the project. Quite a few of them undertook more than one occupation. According to the DNFE's report, 24 persons were involved in rice-straw mushroom growing, 20 in hog raising, 8 in saa papermaking, 7 in fish raising, 6 in paper flower making, 4 in nangrom/nangfaa mushroom growing, 4 in chicken raising, and 2 in cloth sewing (Table 4).

The participation of people varied according to the type of activities. The highest number of participants was in occupational- study trips, with moderate participants in occupational training, and a smaller number in actual occupational undertaking. In all, 81 persons participated in occupational study trips, 175 persons involved in either vocational training or explanatory sessions regarding some particular type of occupations, and 75 persons (53 if not counting those who participated more than one activities) were involved in undertaking supplementary occupations.

Participation of males and females depended on the type of occupations (Table 3 & 4). Men participated more in the areas related to technical skills and requiring physical work, whereas women participated more in areas related to household chores, or in areas where the work could be done at home. As time passed, the number of people undertaking alternative occupations gradually declined. Some people tried new occupations only once and quit, while others continued for a period of time. There were, however, a few villagers who were not initially involved in the project activities, but decided to undertake supplementary occupations on their own. When this study was conducted in the village, about 30 persons were occasionally involved in the occupations introduced by the SNOTRE project.

The Revolving Funds

The project included the provision of revolving funds. No interest was charged on the money loaned to the people because the project was aware that rural farmers were poor and might not have sufficient money to invest in a new occupation. The money would help poorer farmers undertake a supplementary occupation. Those who were reluctant could also be motivated to undertake an occupation once they realized that PNFEC was willing to take risk with them.

The criteria for the allocation of the funds were set broadly by DNFE and recommended that a person eligible for revolving funds must meet the following qualifications: (1) be a permanent resident in the village where the project was launched; (2) have taken one of the project's vocational training courses; and (3) have at least two persons guarantee his/her conduct (DNFE, 1989, p.53). In addition, the person to receive funds had to be endorsed by the Village Committee. The final decision about funds was made by PNFEC.

According to the criteria set forth by DNFE, all who had been involved in a vocational training course would be eligible for the funds. This meant that more than a hundred people would qualify. Therefore, selection and endorsement became essential. To receive funds, people had to write a request to PNFEC stating the occupation they wanted to do, things they needed to buy, and the amount of money they needed. The NFE coordinator and teacher assisted people with the proposal writing.

The request was on behalf of an occupational group. In all, people sent in proposals requesting funds to invest in mushroom growing, *saa* papermaking, fish raising, hog raising, mushroom mycelium, and cloth sewing. In actuality, people worked in groups only in mushroom growing, and paper making. In other occupations, although the request was made as a group, people divided the money and undertook the occupation individually.

In all, the project provided a loan of 259,000 baht to people in Salt Lick Village. Additionally, the PNFEC provided machines and equipment worth about 300,000 baht for some occupations. For instance, a grinding machine was provided for *saa* papermaking, and a steam pot was provided for mushroom mycelium making. In the areas where the investment was not very high and raw materials were readily available, such as rice-straw mushroom growing, people did not wait for the PNFEC's loan. Most trainees kept on growing mushrooms after the training session. In other areas where investment was very high, such as *saa* papermaking and fish raising, people waited for project funds.

Altogether 40 villagers received funds to invest in 6 occupations. The number of fund recipients can be broken down as follows (Table 5): 15 persons received funds for mushroom growing, 4 for mushroom mycelium, 3 for fish raising, 5 for hog raising, 12 for *saa* papermaking, and 1 for cloth sewing. However, not all persons or groups applying

Table 5

Fund Recipients and the Funds Borrowed and Returned, as of January 1993

Occupation	# of funds Recipients	Amount of Money		
		borrowed	Returned	Remained
Mushroom	15	30,000	12,500	17,500
Saa paper	12	79,000	53,500	25,500
Mushroom mycelium	4	36,000	3,400	32,600
Hog raising	5	25,000	11,600	13,400
Fish raising	3	20,000	7,800	12,200
Cloth sewing	1	5,000	1,630	3,370
Total	40	259,000	128,930	130,070

Notes: Data were obtained from the former NFE coordinator who was involved in SNOTRE project.

for a loan received money. Nearly twenty persons had put their names on the waiting list. By January 1993 (the last month of my data collection in the field), none of those on the waiting list had received any money.

According to the agreement, six months after they received money, the villagers had to begin paying back the loan. Fund recipients had to pay back all the money within two years. The returned loan was supposed to be used as a revolving fund to allocate to other people. In reality, people paid back the money very slowly. By the end of 1992, only 49% (128,930 baht) of the loan was repaid to the provincial NFE center.

Supervision and Evaluation

During the implementation of the project in the village, there were many groups of people coming to visit. These groups included officials from DNFE, regional and provincial NFECs, officials from other organizations, people in other regions that were participating in the same project, and people in other northern provinces where the project would later expand. As the project was supported by UNDP, staff workers in the Department were anxious to see the results of the project. If the project produced an impressive outcome, it would satisfy both the Department and the funding agency.

Although the project started in mid-1989, the actual implementation in the village was in early 1990. Activities prior to that were fundamentally at the preparatory stages. By May 1990, the operation was at the mid-way point of the project. A plan to visit the village by high ranking administrators from DNFE was scheduled in May, a few months after people had taken the occupational study trips. The purpose was to see if there was any progress in the project implementation. The following is an excerpt from the NFE teacher's notebook about the *saa* papermaking.

- February 23, 1990 : took a study trip to Hua Krae, Muang Chiangrai to see *saa* papermaking.

- March 19-23, 1990 : six persons were sent to be trained in *saa* papermaking in Chiangrai.

- April 16, 1990 : the NFE coordinator brought the machine to the village to try to make *saa* paper.

- May 14, 1990 : the people started making paper.

- May 15, 1990 : administrators from DNFE and other governmental organizations came to visit the village.

The visits by officials and others, on the one hand, was supportive of the project and showed the people that officials had good intentions to assist them. On the another hand, however, it put pressure on local NFE workers for some results. The NFE teacher, in particular, had to organize the occupational groups and make sure that there was something to show when visitors came to visit. This need led to cosmetic displays or rushed work. The pressure was, sometimes, passed on to the villagers since they had to keep on working in the occupations. Most visitors seemed to appreciate the outputs of project participants. The visitors, however, tended to place an emphasis on the product rather than concentrating on marketing which had become the main problem of project participants.

Initially, people were excited about the visit of officials and people from other villages. Later, they began to feel bored as too many groups had come to the village, and they did not have time to do their own work. Any time that there was a group of people coming to visit them, they were expected to work on their occupation. This made some people feel obligated to work just to show other people. However, some villagers were able to sell their products to visitors as well. Besides receiving visitors from other places, some project participants of Salt Lick Village also had a chance to visit a SNOTRE village in the south.

During the period of project implementation, there were two summary reports: a mid-term project report, and a final report at the end of the project. A project evaluation was also conducted by staff workers at NRNFEC. The "focus group" approach was the main method used for assessing the project (NRNFEC, 1991b). Although is has an advantage in that it allows a researcher to collect data from several persons at a time, it may inhibit some persons from being expressive in a group environment. The pitfall of this method is that a rhetorical person or a leader may express his/her view on behalf of the group, and hence dominate the group's opinion. In rural Thai societies where people are less expressive, it is doubtful whether it would be an appropriate technique for data collection. Fundamentally, these reports presented how the project was implemented, and provided an overall evaluation of the project. All the reports claim success in generating income among participants and provide examples of some successful cases (NRNFEC, 1990; NRNFEC, 1992; DNFE, 1992). The report from each regional center was then sent to the Department to summarize and rewrite as a final report of the overall project.

Summary

This chapter presents the background of the SNOTRE project, its underlying assumptions, and implementation stages of the project. The SNOTRE project was designed to tackle the problem of poverty and rural unemployment. The project was proposed as a complete vocational scheme: to train NFE personnel who were responsible for vocational education, to revise and to implement vocational training activities for rural people.

Its underlying assumptions were that occupational training activities would be effective if they: (1) help to generate income, or reduce family expenses, (2) are based on the needs of the people, (3) involve the target people in project activities, (4) are conducted in the local village, (5) are well-integrated with technical and management skills, and (6) provide revolving funds for initial investment.

To achieve its objective, the project introduced several implementational stages. Prior to the implementation of the project in the village, personnel were trained in the areas of their responsibility. A needs assessment was conducted to find out the local needs as well as to adjust program activities to respond to the needs of local people. Vocational guidance was provided through printed materials, local broadcasts, and vocational-study trips so that people could have a broader perspectives about undertaking an occupation. Skills training was provided when necessary.

To assist people who had financial problems, and ensure that the poor could undertake a supplementary occupation, a revolving fund for interest-free loans was provided as a part of the project. Also an NFE teacher functioned in the village to assist and coordinate the work of the project. An NFE coordinator, as well as other NFE workers from the regional and provincial NFECs, visited the village regularly to supervise and provide support to the project.

Several occupational study trips, and training courses were conducted. Quite a number of people participated in these activities, and in occupational undertaking. Some of them received funds from the project for occupational investment. A few undertook a supplementary occupation using their own money for investment. From the project staff's perspective, the project was considered successful.

CHAPTER V

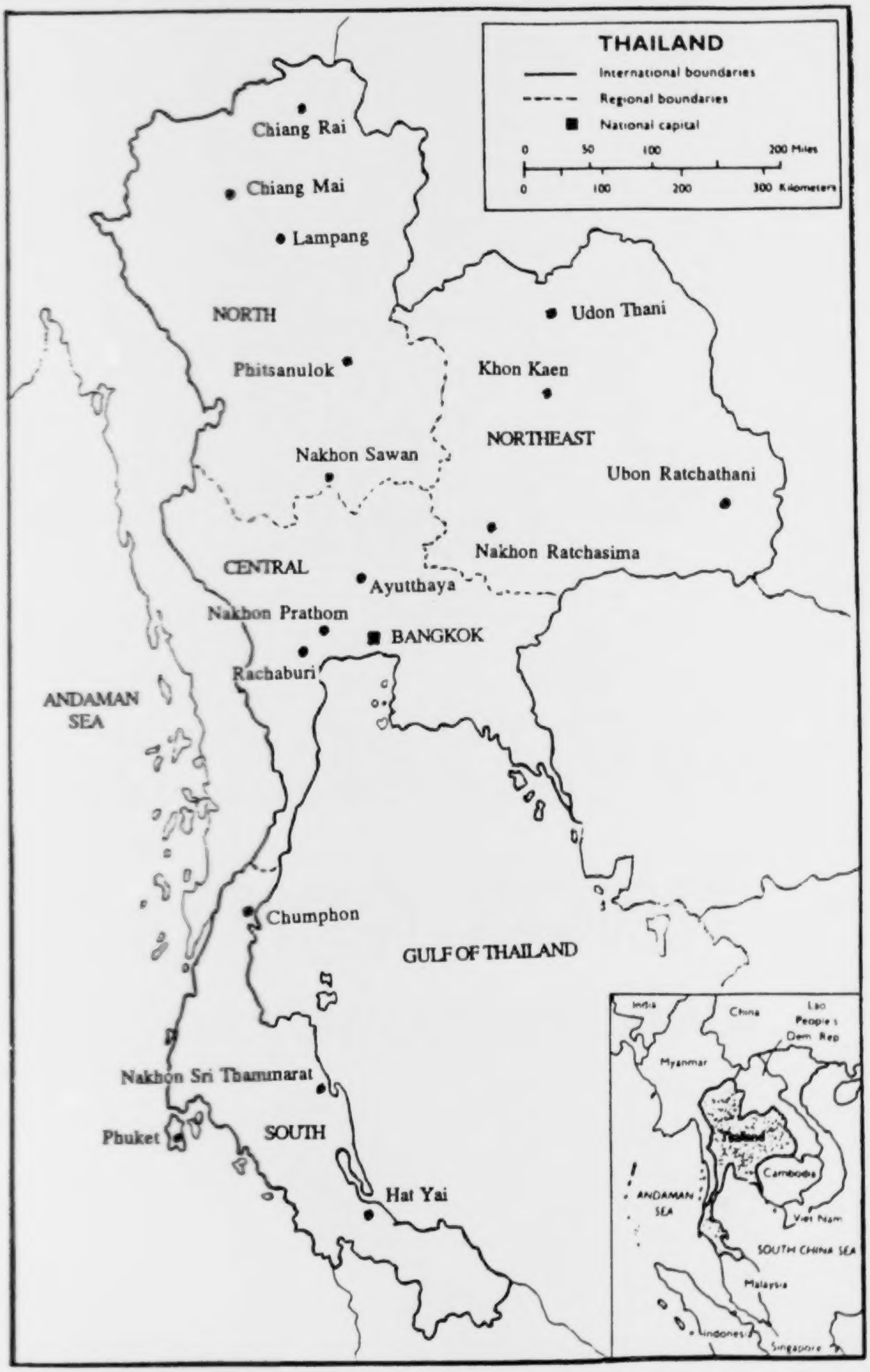
PROFILES OF THE STUDY AREA

This chapter outlines the background of the people and community of the study. In order to preserve anonymity of the communities and persons involved in the study, pseudonyms are used where appropriate. The paper begins with a description of Salt Lick Village and the people. Then four main areas: economic, social and cultural, political and village development are discussed. This is to establish an understanding of the structure of the community, and the village people. The structure of this community, later, can be used for analysis of the people's participation in the SNOTRE project, which is presented in the next chapter.

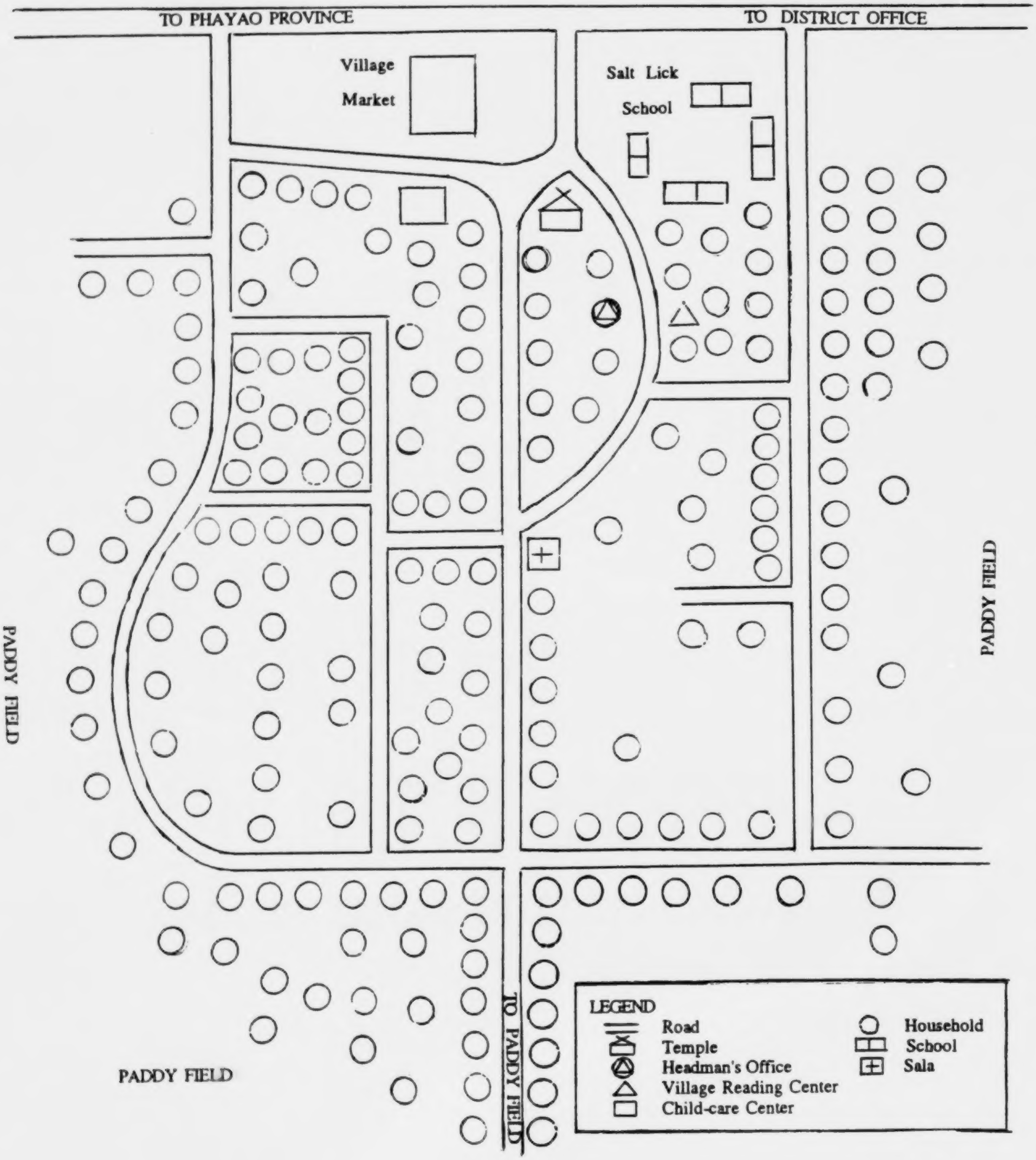
The Physical Features of the Community

The site of this study was in Salt Lick Village, a relatively well-developed community in the south of Chiangrai province, northern Thailand (Map 1). The village is about 2½ kilometers from the local district office, 54 and 42 kilometers from the city of Chiangrai and Phayao respectively. Across the main road to the north is Matrix Village, a community used to be a part of Salt Lick Village several years ago. The village is composed of 203 households, with a 743 population (from village-data board in *sala*). Transportation from the village to the local district office and to both cities is done by minibus. The roads to the district and the cities are asphalted-surfaced. When people need something they often go to Phayao, or to the local town which is in the same area as the district office. Every day, there are four minibuses from the village to Phayao and one minibus to Paan, another district thirty some kilometers away.

Map 1. Map of Thailand


THAILAND
International boundaries
Regional boundaries
National capital
0
50
100
200 Miles
0
100
200
300 Kilometers
Chiang Rai
Chiang Mai
Lampang
NORTH
Phitsanulok
Nakhon Sawan
Udon Thani
Khon Kaen
NORTHEAST
Ubon Ratchathani
Nakhon Ratchasima
CENTRAL
Ayutthaya
Nakhon Prathom
BANGKOK
Rachaburi
ANDAMAN SEA
Chumphon
GULF OF THAILAND
Nakhon Sri Thammarat
Phuket
SOUTH
Hat Yai
India
China
Lao People's Dem. Rep.
Myanmar
Thailand
Cambodia
ANDAMAN SEA
Viet Nam
SOUTH CHINA SEA
Malaysia
Indonesia
Singapore

Map 2. Map of Salt Lick Village


TO PHAYAO PROVINCE
TO DISTRICT OFFICE
Village
Market
Salt Lick
School
PADDY FIELD
PADDY FIELD
PADDY FIELD
TO PADDY FIELD
LEGEND
Road
Temple
Headman's Office
Village Reading Center
Child-care Center
Household
School
Sala

Within the village, most people commute on foot or bicycle. Some take motorcycles. There are three hard-clay roads connecting the village to the main road (Map 2). On the central entrance, about 50 meters from the main roads, is the village *wat* (temple). Across the road from the *wat* on one side is the village child-care center, and on the other side is the public school where children from Salt Lick and Matrix villages go to study. The village head's office is about 50 meters from the *wat*, and opposite the headman's office is the village Reading Center. There is a village *Sala* (an open roofed building used as shelter) in the center of the village. This *sala* is used for public meetings, and as a village health center. Once a week, the village health volunteer distribute contraceptives to people in the village. The central road passes through the village and stretches southwards into the paddy fields. Except for the north side which connects to the main road and Matrix Village, paddy fields surround all the other three sides of the village. The village cemetery is about a kilometer to the southeast of the village.

All the village households are clustered in one area along the side of main road to Phayao. There are two small ditches passing through the village to the paddy fields in the south. Water, however, is available only in the rainy season. In summer, the canals are dry due to massive cutting down of the nearby forest over the past decades.

Most houses in the villages are two-storied, and look strong. The older houses are normally made of wood with an unwalled ground floor. The ground floor is used for several purposes. The front corner, normally equipped with a wooden bench, is used as an area to receive guests, talk, rest, or do household chores. Sometimes, a hammock is tied between two posts for sleeping or relaxing during the daytime. Usually one corner is reserved as a storage area for keeping farm equipment, such as a ploughing machine, rice grain, and fertilizer. Many of the new houses have walled ground floors made of concrete, and wooden walls on the upper floor. Most houses are made of durable material, with a tile or corrugated-zinc roof, and wooden walls, mainly teak.

As the village is located close to the District Office, electricity has been available to people in this village since the late 1970s. Currently, electricity is available in every household. The number of electrical appliances used in a household depends on the economic status of each family. The very poor use electricity only for lights, richer families may have electric fans, stereos, TVs, and refrigerators. One family, the village head, has all of the above and also a video player.

Drinking water is the main problem for this village. Underground water is very deep. People cannot get water from wells. They have to install a water pump to get water for use. The pump in front of the *sala* has a metal tube sunk 60 meters deep into the ground in order to reach the underground water. The water is very rusty. After it is pumped up, the water turns brownish within minutes. For drinking, each household has a filter made with a jar containing layers of charcoal, gravel, and sand. Those who have a pickup truck normally get drinking water from the hospital in the nearby town.

The People

Like most villages in the north, the people in this village are *"Laan Naa"* people (northerners) in origin. The village has been long-established. Currently, there are 203 families comprising 743 persons, with 387 females and 356 males. The majority of the people are active in the workforce. Historically, the village was once a very fertile forest area with plenty of salt licks, and thus, the latter became the name of the village. Some 30 years ago, this part of the country was considered a very remote area where no government officials would like to work. Since contact with the outside world was rather difficult, very few people in the village left the community. Many of the elderly informed me that they had never been to big cities, and their sons or daughters still live in the same village.

The population structure of this village, therefore, was comprised mostly of people of similar origin where most people in the village are related to one another. Young men often married young women in the same village, though a few married people outside the village. It is common to find men who married women with the same last name. The headman, for instance, was married to a woman with the same last name as his. The distribution of population is illustrated in Table 6.

Table 6

Population Distribution in Salt Lick Village

Population Distribution	No.	%
1-5 years	55	7.40
School children	79	10.63
Youth (14-19 yrs)	68	9.15
Adults (20-60)	465	62.58
Elderly (61 yrs≥)	76	10.23
Total	743	100.00

Note: Data compiled from the board in the village *sala*, and from the residence name list (obtained from the village head).

After marriage, a couple may stay with the parents of the woman for some time. When they decide to have their own house, the parents normally divide a small piece of land for them so that they can build a house in the same area. This has made the households in the village into very close clusters. There are some new families that cannot find space in parental areas, and have had to build their houses in the paddy field next to the village. As the number of families increases, new householders increasingly have a problem finding farm land for cultivation. The village baseline data in 1993 disclose that 32 families have become landless.

The size of the family, astonishingly, has been very small compared to other rural villages. Current families have only one or two children. One reason for small families is a widespread adoption of contraceptives by villagers, which started more than a decade ago. Up to 114 of the married women have adopted birth control methods, 76 of them take oral contraceptives and 38 prefer the injection method, and one woman had a permanent sterilization (village-data board in *Sala*). Another factor is that the young men and women prefer to build their own houses and start a new family after marriage. This has increased the number of householders, while at the same time decreasing the ratio of persons per family. The average household comprises only 3.6 persons per family. There are quite a number of elderly couples that live by themselves, although their sons or daughters are still in the same village. However, most sons and daughters visit their parents regularly.

Economic Aspects

In the past, 30 or 40 years ago, people could expand their farmland by cutting down grass, forests, and trees. Most families possessed quite a large area of land they could work on. Even those who had very small plots of agricultural land could also live a simple life since food, such as wild animals, fish and vegetables were plentiful. They did not necessarily have to buy anything to eat. They also were employed by the rich in the village to expand the cultivation areas, or work on the farms. Older people told me that during that time the richer farmers paid the poorer farmers only 9 baht (approximately ¢45) for cutting down one *rai* of forest trees and grass. Poorer farmers thought, by that time, that having even 20 *rais* (around 8 acres of land) was sufficient since most farm activities had to be done manually. Therefore, they expanded the land sufficiently for their own cultivation, and then were employed to work for richer farmers. By employing the poor to cut down forest trees, the rich could increase the area of their farmland gradually.

The rice fields in this area were once very fertile. People sold the surplus rice and bought things they needed. When electricity became available in the late 1970s, some rich farmers could afford to have television sets and other electrical appliances in their homes. After harvest time, people could easily find fish in canals or wild animals in the forest. As food was quite plentiful, in the past people seldom spent money on food. When they got something, such as fish, bamboo shoots or forest mushrooms, people normally shared among neighbours and relatives. Some men were good at making fishtraps. While the men enjoyed hunting and fishing, women would spend the summertime making fishnets at home. A certain percentage of the fishnets that were made were sold to people from other villages for cash income.

Over the past decade, however, life in the village has become more difficult. Long-term cutting down of forest trees in the region has resulted in less rainfall, dry canals in summer, and diminished hunting and fishing. In the past, people were free after harvest season, and they did not have much trouble finding food. Now fish and animals are scarce. They seldom share food with relatives or neighbours. Whatever they get, they sell in the village market, or to their neighbours. Consequently, the social interaction between community members has become increasingly organized around the cash nexus.

Occupations

Like other rural Thai village, the main occupation of people in this community is rice growing. Up to 191 (94.09%) families grow rice as the main occupation, while 12 householders earn their main income from daily employment. Supplementary occupation are varied, but not constant. Some people undertake more than one supplementary occupations. Some occupations such as fishnet making and bamboo handicrafts earn people only a little income. People do not regard them as primary occupations, but something that lets them spend their time beneficially. If they had something else to do where they could earn some money, even temporarily, they would switch to the new job immediately. When that job is done, they would come back to the former job.

About 54 families reported that besides growing rice, they also grew beans and ginger as a secondary crop. Other supplementary occupations undertaken by quite a few villagers are hog raising, and chicken raising. A number of families raise one or two hogs after harvest time, and sell them shortly prior to planting season. The money gained from the sale is used to buy farm equipment and fertilizer. Chicken raising is normally for household consumption only with the number raised ranging from 5 to 20 chickens. There are seven grocery stores in the village. The shop owners still consider rice growing as their main occupation. Four families earn extra income from their small rice mills. Sometimes the farmers pay the rice miller in the form of rice grains instead of cash. One lady earns a secondary income from dressmaking, and another family has opened a welding shop to make iron doors and windows as well as to repair ploughing machines. The distribution of occupations of the people is illustrated in Table 7. During the rice growing season, all these persons would stop their business temporarily and go to work in the paddy fields.

Table 7

Main and Supplementary Occupations of People in Salt Lick Village

Occupations	Households	%[*]
Main Occupation		
Rice growing	191	94.09
Daily employment	12	5.91
Supplementary Occupations		
Cash crops (peanuts & ginger)[**]	54	26.60
Hogs/chicken raising	71	34.97
Daily labour	27	13.30
Fruit tree growing	20	9.85
Small groceries	7	3.45
Mushroom growing[**]	8	3.94
Rice mill	4	1.97
Mixed farming	2	0.98
Small fuel pumps	2	0.98
Fishnet making[**]	150	73.89
Bamboo handicrafts[**]	25	12.31

Sourc: Compiled from the village's 1991 *Kor chor chor song kor* data; NRNFEC, 1991; interviewing *klum* leaders; and some from actual counting.

[*] Some families undertake more than one supplementary occupations, so the totals in the various columns in the table is more than 100%.

[**] Done after harvest time (fishnets are made by women, and bamboo handicrafts are made by men and women).

The life cycle of people in this village, similar to those in other villages where rice is the main occupation, is tied to the rhythm of rice production. There are two methods of rice growing in Thailand. In the low flat land or in areas where the irrigation system is good, farmers grow seedlings from rice grains first, and then transplant them in the paddy field later. In the highland, or in places where there is less water, farmers sow rice grains in the paddy fields directly. The land in Salt Lick village is flat and low, so farmers adopt the transplanting method. Because of poor irrigation, rice production in this village relies heavily on rainfall.

The rice production cycle starts in May when there are some occasional rains. As soon as the soil is soft enough to be ploughed, farmers will prepare a small plot of land for growing seedlings. Normally, by the beginning of July there would be sufficient rain water for farmers to plough the whole paddy field. After ploughing the soil, they can transplant the young rice plants to the paddy fields. However, with the effect of massive destruction of forest areas, sometimes it does not rain as the farmers expect. With a poor irrigation system in the region, if it does not rain sufficiently by late August, farmers never have a chance to transplant their rice. This means they have to wait for another year. During this study, it did not rain until early August. Only rich farmers could afford to plant their rice by pumping up underground water to their rice fields. Some rich farmers in Salt Lick village used this method as well. Fortunately, as rains did come, though somewhat late, all farmers in Salt Lick village were able to transplant their rice in time.

Daily activities at certain times of the year are similar for most villagers. People in this village get up early in the morning. Both men and women work equally; only the type of work differs. In a family, while the wife goes out to buy food early in the morning, the husband, sometimes helps start the fire to steam the sticky rice, or prepares the equipment needed to work in the field. When going to the field, normally they carry a lunch packed in a tiffin carrier with them. In the rice field, people normally work from

8 a.m. until 4 p.m., and take only a short break during lunch time.

During the transplanting season, the main work in the field for men is ploughing the paddy field. Controlling the ploughing machine is quite difficult, so this job is mainly done by men. Women uproot the young seedlings and tie them in a bunch so that the plants can be carried easily to the nearby paddy field. Then, women and men plant the rice together until late afternoon. When they come back home in the evening, the wife starts cooking dinner while the husband cuts wood into small pieces for cooking, or prepares things that will be taken to the field the next day. After the meal, they normally chat with members of their family or talk with friends and neighbours. People go to bed early so that they have sufficient rest and will be ready for the hard work in the field the next day.

After transplanting, farmers have about three months to do something else, such as catching fish and trapping eels, trapping field rats, putting fertilizer in the rice fields, and preparing bamboo strips for binding rice bunches at harvest time. By November, the plants are ready to harvest. Poor farmers harvest their own fields; whereas rich farmers usually hire other farmers to harvest the rice for them. Bunches of paddy ears are tied together and gathered in one area for pounding. After the harvest, farmers leave the paddy ears in the field until they are completely dry. During that time, they work as hired hands in others' fields. The majority of farmers in this village pound the rice using equipment made of two bamboo sticks, with a rope tying the two ends together. The equipment is used to squeeze and hold up the rice bunches and pound them against the ground. A few rich farmers in the village use a pounding machine.

By January, all activities related to the rice production are over. Again, farmers have more free time to do other things. Some start growing rice-straw mushrooms, some begin making bamboo baskets or fishtraps. Those who have land in the mountain areas begin to plant ginger and peanuts. A few may repair houses, farm equipment, or build a new house. Some people, particularly housewives, buy baby hogs to raise. The hogs can be sold at planting time so that the family can have some money to buy fertilizer and other things they need for farming. By and large, most housewives begin to spend their free time making fishnets. Although it takes about 10 days to finish a fishnet valuing only 80-90 baht, they have nothing else to do productively. Making fishnets is one of the occupations inherited from their ancestors in a time when fish were plentiful.

Those who are quite skillful in carpentry (in fact, most of the villagers possess this skill) may be employed to work either in or outside the village. If they work in the village, they earn around 70-90 baht a day. For a better income, some go to Chiangmai or Bangkok to work for a construction company. Except for a few families, most husbands leave their families in the village. By working hard, and spending economically they save a lot of money during the months of January to April. Some save up to 8,000 baht a month. For a period of three months, they can earn as much as they would earn from the whole season of growing 10 *rais* of rice. A few, however, often have to come back home earlier due to health problems resulting from the hard work.

The poor rice production and greater opportunities in construction work in the big cities have driven many farmers to leave their communities for a part of the year on a regular basis. In 1992, there were only about 30-40 persons going to work in Bangkok and Chiangmai. In my last visit during the last week of January 1993, I found that nearly a hundred persons had gone to work in these two cities. Economic pressures also force daughters of some poor farmers to leave the community to work in the service sectors (department store, restaurant, night club, massage parlour, and whorehouse). In the past, some young ladies from the north were deceived to work in the south. Nowadays, it is the economic stress that compels them to work outside their community.

By April, especially during the Songkran festival (a traditional Thai New Year's Day, celebrated by sprinkling water on each other during the hot summer day) in mid-April, most villagers who go to work elsewhere would come back home to visit and celebrate the festival. After that most of them remain in the village to prepare for the upcoming planting season. In May, the rice production cycle begins again.

Property and Land Holdings

Property ownership, especially land-holdings, is an important determinant of the social structure of agrarian rural communities. Economic groups are, therefore, normally classified by the number of land-holding. Besides the size of land holding and the house they live in, economic status differences can also be observed by reference to other types of property, such as vehicles (pickup trucks, and motorcycles), farming equipment (ploughing machines, carts, and water pumps in the paddy field), electrical appliances (TVs, stereos, and refrigerators), and ornaments (gold necklaces and braces).

Nearly all the households have a bicycle, more than half of them have a TV and groundwater pump, one third of them have a motorcycle, and 12 families have a pickup truck. While rich farmers own several of these items, poor farmers own only a few. Due to complexity of categorizing economic status based on several combinations of property, this paper classifies economic position of people in Salt Lick Village into three categories, based only on their ownership of farmland (Table 8).

Out of the total of 203 families, approximately half of them (50.73%) are in the poor category. Within this group, 32 families (15.76%) are identified as landless. The well-off group comprises 12.80% of the population, 5 of them are rich farmers. A substantial proportion of householders (36.45%) have between 10-20 *rais* of farmland, which is considered to be moderately self-sufficient. Having less than 10 *rais* is considered

Table 8

Proportion of Land Holdings in Salt Lick Village

Land Ownership	# of households	%
Poor	(103)	(50.73)
Landless	32	15.76
1-9 *rais*	71	34.97
Moderate	(74)	(36.45)
10-20 *rais*	74	36.45
Well-off	(26)	(12.80)
21-50 *rais*	21	10.34
51 *rais* or more	5	2.46
Total	203	100.00

Source: Data summarized from the 1992 village baseline data, and interviews with people).

Note: The economic criteria are classified and based on the data of Salt Lick Village only, and may not be suitably applicable to other communities.

to be insufficient for a family of four persons or more. However, some families comprise only two or three persons. In this case, having 6-9 *rais* can be self-sufficient. By and large, poor and moderate farmers have to find a job in the village or in big cities for additional income in the summer.

Among the landless, some build houses on the land of the parents or relatives, and some own only the housing plot. Landless farmers and those who have only small plots of farmland have to rent a small piece of land from others for rice growing. Sometimes the rent is based on the traditional *napha* system. According to this system, a poor farmer gets a piece of land from the rich to grow rice, and each share half of the product. This system, however, benefits the landowner rather than the poor farmer. If the rice farming is not productive, the landowner has nothing to lose while the poor suffers hard work without getting sufficient rice to eat. Poor villagers often referred to "napha" as a system which the landowner is always richer whereas the landless can never be independent, and has to depend on the landlord more and more. The disparities between the rich and poor farmers have become increasingly significant in recent years. This is due to the fact that the poor farmers' productivity has suffered due to decreasing rainfall levels while the rich farmers have maintained their productivity by installing electrical pumps to draw underground water for irrigation purposes. Increasingly, farmer productivity has become capital-dependent and this has put the poor farmers at a greater relative disadvantage.

Over the past decades, the size of land holdings has decreased dramatically. Twenty or thirty years ago, parents who had a hundred *rais* of land may currently have only 20 *rais* after giving some part of the land to their children. There are a lot of families who previously had over 20 rais of land, and now possess only a quarter of it. This trend suggests that the new generation will have fewer rais for land ownership. Since the price of land is increasing, it might be hard for farmers to buy more land. Expansion of cultivated land by cutting down forest trees like their predecessors did in the past is no longer possible. Farmland of parents decreases in relation to the number of children they have. While the population born and remaining in the village continues to increase, the amount of land remains unchanged. This has decreased the amount of land holding per family.

Similarly, the fact that poorer farmers have no more land to divide with their children has resulted in an increase in the number of landless families in the village. If this condition continues, many of the younger generation will find themselves landless in the near future.

Although the village as a whole could be regarded as economically better off compared to some other villages in the region, most people in the village, in fact, are in debt to local financial institutions. When people need a loan, they normally go to the local bank, or borrow money from the Agricultural Cooperatives in the nearby town for which they pay about 15-18% interest rate. If the amount is small, they often borrow money from the village rice bank, which also has some money to lend, rather than from the money lenders.

The exact number of people in debt is difficult to obtain since people are reluctant to disclose this information. A talk with a deputy headman revealed that perhaps 80% of the families are in debt, while others mentioned that the figure may be close to 70%. Roughly it can be estimated that three quarters of the families in the village are in debt to the Agricultural Cooperatives and/or the local Bank. The amount of the debt ranges from 10,000 baht to as high as 200,000 baht, with an average of around 25,000-30,000 baht.

Land certificates are typically used as a warranty for the money they borrow from the bank. Paying back the money is normally done after harvesting when farmers have sold their rice. If the rice production is not good, they would postpone payment to the following year. This makes the amount of accumulated loan so high that sometimes the loan and interest increase to the level they cannot pay the debt from their rice sales. In these instances, especially when the interest is very high, sometimes, they have to sell a part of the land to richer farmers in the village or outsiders to get rid of the debt.

Since property is regarded as important for social status, most villagers are willing to borrow money from a local financial institution in order to buy farm equipment, a vehicle, or to build a new house. From an outsider's perspective, it might not make sense if a poor farmer with only 4-5 rais of farmland borrows money from a bank to buy a ploughing machine. However, from the farmer's point of view, a ploughing machine is regarded essential. Farmers need to plough the land at the right time and within a short period to take advantage of the unpredictable rainfall. If they do not have a machine, they might not be able to plough the field the day after the rainfall. This might result in late transplanting. In their view, if they finish soon, they may be able to make some money by working for richer farmers who have more land to plough.

Social and Cultural Aspects

Social Institutions

The people of Salt Lick Village are quite homogeneous. They have the same ancestors, and they believe in the same religion, Buddhism. They are rice-growing farmers. Their children go to the same school, and after finishing school, most choose to live in the same village. Their lives are fairly similar from several perspectives. As Buddhists, they all go to make a merit (giving alms to monks) at the same *wat* every Buddhist sabbath. The *wat* is the main social institution in the village. All religious and cultural ceremonies, such as entering a monkhood of young men, moving into a new house, marriage, funeral, or Songkran festival, always involve the *wat* and the Buddhist monks.

Wat is the institution that holds together the people in the village. The current abbot of Salt Lick Village is well respected by people. At the time of the construction of the *wat* temple in 1975, people searched for a new abbot. A group of villagers went to a nearby district and invited one of the monks to be an abbot. Since then he has been the abbot of this *wat*. All families in this village, as well as 25 families from Matrix Village, go to make a merit at this *wat*. In 1992, there were two monks and four novices. The abbot has a very good relationship with the people. Some village activities, such as monthly meetings, and vocational training courses of SNOTRE project are conducted on the *wat* grounds.

Another social institution in the village is the public school. The school offers compulsory education for children up to grade 6. There is no tuition fee at this level, and the school is accessible to all school-aged children. Apart from a place for children from the two villages to study, the school has little contact with people in those communities. The school principal was originally from the northeast. Although he has been in this school for more than ten years, he seldom has contact with the students' parents. Most school teachers, including the principal, live outside the village. Only one teacher lives in the school house located on the school grounds, and another, the brother-in-law of the Salt Lick Village headman, lives in Matrix Village. After finishing grade six, about a quarter of the students, mostly from affluent families, continue to study in the nearby town. The rest stay in the village and help their parents in the fields, or go to work somewhere else.

Only recently has the school had a role in social integration of the two communities through a sports competition between people in the Salt Lick and Matrix villages. The first competition was held in March 1992, and the second sports competition took place on January 30, 1993, one day before I left the village. The sports competition was organized by the teacher who lives in the teacher's house. She organized people into four teams, grouping them in such a way that each team comprised people from both villages. Everybody I talked to said the sports events brought people in the two villages closer to each other again.

Social Relationship

Probably the simplest way to introduce a sketch of Thai village social structure is to start with a summary of basic beliefs undergirding it. As Buddhists, Thais believe in reincarnation and the "Karmic Law." Thai people accept personal differences in wealth and power as natural. They believe that "*bun*" (accumulated merits) from the past life results in wealth and power of a person; and "*bap*" (bad deeds) results in poverty or loss of wealth (Rabibhadana, 1982, p.230). At the behavioral level, personal relationships of Thai are in the form of patron-client relationships (Rubin, 1974; Rigg, 1991). In Thai, this relationship is referred to as "*luknong-lukphii*" (junior-senior) or "*phuyai-phunoi*" (superior-inferior). In addition, Thai are found to be polite, smiling, likely to avoid face-to-face hostilities and "*krengjai*" (a desire not to offend or displease another). If they know that doing a certain thing would displease other people, they would prefer avoid doing so (Meesook and Bennett, 1973; Phillips, 1965; Rabibhadana, 1982). Another significant attribute of Thai people is the attitude of "*mai pen rai*" (it does not matter), and the characteristic of carefreeness (Rubin, 1974; Rabibhadana, 1982). They are willing to forgive, and often not take things seriously. When a person who makes a mistake offers an apology, he/she is normally forgiven.

Because of the *phuyai-phunoi* relationship, together with the characteristics of *krengjai*, any feeling against the elderly or the status quo holders can be easily calmed down when requested by someone who is respected. In Salt Lick Village, there were very few arguments between elderly and younger people. At meetings people mostly compromised rather than push forth their opinions. This characteristic of village people has sometimes made it hard to introduce radical change, or anything that affects the status quo.

One distinct characteristic of people in this village is that there is a strong kinship among themselves. Since there is only a small number of people migrating in or out of the village, young men marry young women in the village, so most people in this village seem to be related to one another. They all know each other quite well. A close examination of the list of householders in the village reveals that up to 42 families have the same last name, and the four main last names in the village include 105 families, more than half of the householders in the village. One elderly woman told me, "We all are relatives. I know everybody in this village. Even the people in the North (Matrix) village, are our relatives as well." The term "relatives" was used so broadly that even a cousin of one family was married to someone in another family, all the relatives of both families would consider themselves as "related" to one another.

When I first introduced myself to them, they usually said that they lived like "brothers" implying that I did not have to feel like a stranger. In fact, in this village, which is similar to other northern villages, people refer to each other using kinship terms, such as *nong* (younger brother or younger sister), *ai* (older brother), *phii* (older sister), *paw* (father), *mae* (mother), *paw ui* (elderly man), and *mae ui* (elderly woman). The term used depends on the age of the person in relation to the one who is being addressed. They do not have to be relatives.

When walking around the village, I usually greeted people with the terms appropriate to their ages. The phrases they use as greetings are primarily the same. To a stranger, they often ask "Where are you going?" or "Who are you looking for?" assuming that the person might want directions to see someone. These phrases are considered to be polite in the rural Thai context. To people they know, including me, they usually begin with a phrase, such as "How are you doing?" "Have you eaten yet?", "What do you cook for dinner?", "Where are you going?", "Who are you going to visit today?" and "If you feel lonely, please come visit us." These phrases reveal that the villagers are friendly and are concerned about the person to whom they are speaking. It also shows that they are willing to talk to that person. I usually greeted them using the phrase "*ya a young?*" (what are you doing?) when I saw them doing something. That could be the start of a longer conversation as well.

Because most of them are relatives, the people in this village live peacefully. The village is quite safe in terms of theft and burglary. Any stranger coming into the village is immediately noticed. During my stay, I did not hear about anything being stolen. When people take a bicycle or a motorcycle to the paddy fields, they do not double lock the vehicle. Quite often, bicycles are left unlocked at the side of the road although the owners are working some distance away.

Values and Attitudes

Although the majority of the villagers are rice-growing farmers, they tend to make themselves look like city people. Currently, many villagers have contact with people in the city. Some villagers have been to work in Bangkok or Chiangmai. Some people dress quite well when they stay at home or walk around in the village. Only when they go to the paddy fields do they dress as farmers. Some villagers told me that they need to dress well. If not, they may be looked down upon by others. When they make a merit in the *wat* on the Buddhist sabbath, or when they attend a meeting, they normally wear their best clothes.

It is common to see people, particularly those who are well off, wear gold necklaces and bracelets even when the people are at home. Wearing a gold necklace is popular in both the city and rural village. Not only does it show that a person has money, it also easily can be exchanged for cash should an emergency occur. Those who do not have gold may put on a silver necklace or anything else that makes the person look nice

(Suparb, 1991). One poor lady, about 35 years old, observed "In this society you need to dress up. If you don't, they will look down on you. The poorer you are, the more you need to make yourself look nice."

It is, in fact, not just in this community, but northerners generally seem to regard their clothes along with property as *mee naa mee taa* (to superficially look good in the eyes of others). This expression means that one can show up proudly in public. A northern proverb says, "*took bor dai kin bor mii phai aow tai maa song tong, took bor dai yong phii nong pha maad do klaen*" (Detchkamron, 1987, p.32). This phrase means that if you have nothing to eat, no one will hold a torch to look at your stomach. But if you do not dress up, people will look down on you.

One of my colleagues who was a northerner told to me why people cared more about dressing. In the past, people did not worry about eating because food was plentiful in all seasons, and everywhere - in canals, or forests. In the north, where it is cold in the winter, people are concerned about their skin. Since they have a good complexion and skin, they normally dress well to show off their beauty. This value not only relates to dressing, but includes other material property as well.

In the village, people know each other's background quite well. If a person from the same background builds a new house or buys a motorcycle, others of the same social status want to do the same. When I mentioned to a deputy village head that the village did not look like a poor village because some people have quite big houses, he maintained that they were still poor. Although they had a new house or a motorcycle, they were still in debt to the bank. "There is pressure for them to have a new house." He further elaborated that when a person has a good house, it made others of the same background feel that they needed to have a good house too. This put pressure on people to build a new house in spite of the fact that their old house was still fine. Some people were willing to sell part of their land or get a loan from the bank to build new houses or make improvement to existing ones. They felt that they had to be *"mee naa mee taa"* comparable to other people.

When there was a social gathering, the contrast between rich and poor farmers was easily noticed. The prosperous ones would normally take a motorcycle or a pickup truck, and showed up with a high profile and expensive ornaments. The poor, however, would attempt to appear in best clothes they could afford, but would try to keep a low profile. One woman told me with pride that she was the first person to buy a new model of Yamaha motorcycle for her teenage son. It was a sort of *mee naa mee taa* among the villagers. This value is evidenced in the desire of the underprivileged to have something comparable to their neighbours. A new house, ploughing machine, motorcycle, or color TV are things that make them *mee naa mee taa*. If they cannot afford a new one, a second-hand is still preferable. One lady admitted that she felt inferior to others because she lived in a small thatch-roofed house. If she sold a small area of land next to her house, she could use the money to build a new house. Some gave reasons that their present houses were very small and not strong, or walls were eaten by white-ants.

The desire to have material property sometimes has forced the daughters of poor farmers to work in the service industry in Bangkok. During the period of my stay, seven houses were being built or partially built. Some houses took a few years to complete. Some had only posts and the other part of the house would be added gradually as the family saved more money.

The attitude towards education and employment has changed over the generations. Ten or twenty years ago, people did not support education for their children. They contended that there was no *pawliang* (literally means a millionaire) whose income was mainly a salary, but there were farmland *pawliangs*. As rice farming was productive, people encouraged their children to work on the farm thinking that they could become rich that way. In the past, holding a large area of land could actually enable some farmers to become well-off. Nowadays, people in the community would say that they cannot become rich by growing rice. It is better to have a salary, which usually means working in government sectors as a school teacher, policeman, or public-health worker. The attitudinal change, however, has not resulted in different practice.

Only a quarter of the students finishing compulsory education continue on to study at secondary education. One reason is that farmers lack financial support. Another is that none of those who have a high education show their success by getting a good job. Sons and daughters of rich farmers who attended college in the city, including a daughter of

Table 9

Educational Attainment of People in Salt Lick Village

Education	No.	%
Illiterates	45*	7.38
Primary education (grade 4)	375	61.47
Primary education (Grade 6-7)	147	24.10
Secondary education	38	6.23
Junior college or higher	5	0.92
Total	610	100.00

Source: Data from the list of residents in the village.
(Adults 14 years and older = 610).
* These illiterates participated in a literacy class in 1990.

the village *pawliang*, still cannot find white-collar employment after graduation. They became the educated unemployed and came back to the village to work as farmers. The lack of success of those who have been to college has made people reluctant to support further education of their children. As a result, the number of children studying beyond compulsory education (Grade 6) is very small (Table 9). The data from Table 9 show that the majority of people in the village attained 4th grade education, less than one per cent of the people in the village has studied beyond secondary education.

Another point that should be mentioned is the sense of time of the people. It is interesting that many households had a clock hanging on the wall. People, however, seldom specify the time. They often used broad terms such as, in the morning, in the afternoon, in the evening, tonight, or after dinner rather than using an exact time.

When there was a meeting in the village, I always had a problem figuring out when I should show up. I did not want to miss any part of the meeting. Often, the monthly meeting was announced at the *wat* after dinner. I often wondered how people knew what time they should go to the meeting. Without knowing the time exactly, once I had to take a bath and eat dinner in a hurry so that I would not miss any important points. When I got to the *wat*, I found that I was the second person to arrive. In fact, the meeting never began until the leader was sure that almost everybody had arrived. Those who came early did not complain. They just sat talking with others and waited for the meeting to commence. Those who arrived late never cared that they might miss a portion of the meeting. They never apologized for coming late. No one seemed to care whether they came early or late as they knew whenever they came they would be in time for the meeting. For subsequent meetings, I often waited until I saw a group of people walking to the *wat*, then, I would join them and walk to the meeting.

Political Aspects

Administrative System

In Thailand, the local administration is divided into 73 provinces. Each province comprises about 10 *Amphur* (Districts), each *Amphur* has about 10 *Tambon* (Sub-districts), and each *Tambon* comprises about 10 villages. At the village level, the village head (VH) is in charge of village administration. The political power of the village head is exercised through his functions as a semi-government official. He acts as a local registrar, and administrator. When people need official documents, such as birth or death certificates, an ID card, and migrating-in/migrating-out registration, they have to inform the Village Head. If an official document is lost, sometimes a warrant from the VH is needed. With this kind of responsibility, people generally have to depend on him in one way or another.

There is also a Village Committee to assist the VH in some specific areas, namely health, education, administration, social welfare, and occupational promotion and development. The members of this committee were largely adult males, 40-55 years old from well-off families. In general, all village administrative activities has to be approved by this committee. Their political power is, therefore, through this channel. Members of the VC were appointed by the Village Head who is also the chairman of the committee. With this regard, the VH has quite a decisive role in the village activities.

In addition, Salt Lick Village is divided into 6 *klum* (clusters). Each *klum* comprises about 30-40 households. One person is elected in each cluster as a *klum* leader. Typically, they were younger than the VC members, and more active in village development. Although *klum* leaders do not hold official positions, compared to Village Committee members, they are most helpful to the VH regarding administration and gathering of data about households within the *klum*.

Village Leadership

The current VH is the fifth successor to the position since the establishment of Salt Lick Village. He is 55 years old. The VH has two deputies to assist him. One is responsible for administration, and the another for security. By and large, the key roles in village administration belong to the VH and the *klum* leaders. Normally, people in the upper north called the village head "*Pawluang*". His wife is called "*Maeluang*". Since 1902, there have been only five village heads. The current VH has been in the position since 1981. Prior to that he was a deputy head for 11 years. Economically, he is one of the richest people in the village. He owns nearly a hundred *rais* of farmland, and he is the owner of the village market. Politically, he is well-known and has a very good relationship with officials in the District.

In the past, the VH of Salt Lick Village proposed three times to resign from his post, but was requested by his relatives and some villagers to remain in the position. A number of villagers would like to have him resign so that they could select a more active village head to replace him. According to the new law, those who have been in the position prior to 1991 could remain in the position until retirement at age 60. If the VH resigns or a new village is established, people can elect candidates for village head. Then, there would be election every five years. Since the law cannot be applied to the current VH, he can remain in his position until he retires.

The VHs of Salt Lick Village and Matrix Village were once deputies of the former VH. In 1981, when the former VH resigned, these two persons actually competed for the position. The current VH of Salt Lick Village was a local person and had many relatives while his contender was originally from another province; thus, the insider won the election. Since then, the two leaders antagonized each other. By 1983, the number of families in Salt Lick village grew to more than 300. The people decided to separate into two villages. The households in the south of the *wat* remained in Salt Lick Village, and the ones in the north became a new community, called Matrix Village. The former contender eventually managed to win the election for the VH post of the new village. He also encouraged the people in his village to build a new *wat*. Since then the people in each village made merit in their own *wat*. Cousins living in different villages did not join religious ceremonies and social activities as they had done before. The relationship between the two villages worsened and remained tense.

Initially, the two leaders seemed to compete in village development. In 1986, Salt Lick won an award in village development. After that the VH became less active, whereas the VH of Matrix Village continued his development activities and won a village development award in 1990. Currently, people in Salt Lick Village feel that Matrix Village is more developed. Some people would like to see a change in village leadership. The relatives of the VH, however, defend the village leader and feel he is still active and does pay attention to village development activities.

Again, by 1989 the number of households in Salt Lick Village reached nearly 200 families. People began to think that they should split into two villages. In 1990, this issue was raised at a village meeting. All the families signed their names in support of village separation. In terms of development, if they separated, each village would get its own village-development budget from the District Office. Finally, people insisted that the VH bring the issue to the District Office for consideration. People paid a state official 600 baht to help draw a map of the new village. A year later they learned that the proposal was not approved due to insufficient details on the map. They paid another official 900 baht to draw a new map. They waited. Again, they did not learn about any progress regarding the proposed new village. At the same time, a new *Tambon* was established comprising four nearby villages. *Tambon* status results in a larger annual development budget. The budget for a *Tambon* is about 10 times greater than that for a village. Many of the villagers in the new *Tambon* originally migrated from Salt Lick Village. They divided the community into two villages, and then later became four villages. One of the villages comprises only 50 households. The criteria for a *Tambon* is that it has to be composed of at least four villages. Hence the villages became a *Tambon*. The news has accelerated the desire of people in Salt Lick Village to separate. They hope that if Matrix Village does the same, they can combine and become a *Tambon*. Part of the desire to separate is the consequence of the SNOTRE project. The effect of the SNOTRE project regarding this issue is discussed in Chapter 6.

Within the village, the relationship between those who have some degree of power and the average villager is particularly good at the *klum* level. *Klum* leaders are elected, respected and trusted by people in their clusters. One *klum* leader is a young man and rather poor, but his active, development-oriented style made the people in his cluster elect him. Some people said that if a new village is founded, he would be a good candidate for a VH position. If there is anything that affects all the families in the village, the VH normally requests the *klum* leaders to work with him to address the concerns. In this particular village, the Village Committee (VC) members are less active. The committee is chaired by the VH and seven other members. They often rubber stamp to approve or propose something on behalf of the village. Absolute power belongs to the VH, with the counter balance coming from *klum* leaders. Decision-making related to village matters is usually done by the VH. Only when the cooperation of the people is needed, does he seek approval through a meeting.

Besides the VC members, and *klum* leaders, virtually no other groups existed in the village. There is no youth group since the youths of this village normally get married shortly after finishing their compulsory education. Only the housewives' group was active in the past. One of the key persons in the housewives' group is *Maeluang*, the wife of the village head. She used to be the chairperson of the housewives' group. At the time of this study, the housewives' group still existed but was involved in fewer activities. One activity this group initiated was to make a cement floor in the child-care center. Other activities mainly involved preparing the food and drinks for ritual ceremonies.

To some extent, all villagers have an opportunity to learn what is going on in the village from the monthly meeting, which are supposed to be held the sixth day of every month. Occasionally, the meeting is cancelled since the VH is the one who decides when to meet. While in the village, if I had to go home or to NRNFEC at the beginning of the month, I would try to get back to the village on the sixth day to be in time for the meeting. A few times on my return, I was disappointed to learn that there would be no meeting that day. One time I checked with the people and the VH if there had been a meeting before I came back. Then, the next day the VH made an announcement through the village loudspeakers that there would be a meeting that evening. Sometimes, the people did not know about a gathering very long beforehand.

The meeting was often a showcase for the VH. Most of the VC members would sit in the front row. Though I intended to observe from the back row, I was always asked to sit close to the VC members. The abbot was sometimes invited to join the meeting. At all the meetings I observed, the VH would show up in a semi-official uniform with a walkie-talkie communication radio in his hand. While he read the official announcements or talked to villagers, he still left the walkie-talkie on. The radio was for emergency contact with officials or the police. The meetings sometimes went on for two hours using an "I talk, you listen" format. However, some discussion was allowed at the end of the meeting. Sometimes the VH would ask the abbot and me if we had anything to say. We normally said "no," except for the first meeting when I introduced myself to the people.

Village Rules

Occasionally, village rules were established at the meeting depending on the situation. One time, in August, a villager shot a bird in the village with his locally-made gun. The sound of the gun frightened other villagers. At the September meeting, some people raised the issue for discussion. Finally, the rule was set that any person shooting a bird in the village would be fined 500 baht. The village had some other rules in place as well; for instance, being absent from the monthly meeting meant a fine of 20 baht each, and a person driving a ploughing machine through the village without a rubber tire covering the iron wheels would be fined 200 baht.

In practice, the rules were not followed strictly. Sometimes, there were only 100 people showing up at the village meeting. Normally about 120-150 persons participated in the monthly meeting. No one was fined. Some people felt that the meetings were not interesting, but they felt they should participate. Some did not care at all. I observed that when the VH requested that people do something, not many people participated. For instance, officials recommended that the VH ask people to catch crabs which destroyed rice in the paddy fields on September 14, 1992. When he passed the word on to the people, less than 30 people participated in catching crabs that day. Some people said there was no need for the campaign since they had to get rid of the crabs anyway. Another time when the VH asked people to cut the grass and unwanted plants around their houses on a specified date, I observed that many people did it either before or after that date. Some did it on the specified date, and a few individuals paid no attention to the request.

Village and Development

Although the village has existed for nearly a century, development efforts in the past were barely geared towards this area. It was in the late 1970s and 1980s that development activities began to reach the village, particularly in the form of public health care, agricultural extension, and community development. More development activities were introduced when the village participated in the village-development competition in 1985. By and large, the emphasis was placed on activities that made the village look nice and clean, such as repairing the village roads, and making fences around households. People also grew lemon grass along the roads in the village.

These types of activities, however, required people to share labour work and some money. With the encouragement of officials and local leaders, people usually cooperated. The award winning only showed the work of officials and local leaders, but did not actually help improve the living conditions of villagers. Community development workers, nonetheless, considered that they had helped the community develop. Soon after winning an award, the development activities began to wither away.

After the village won the award, development workers considered Salt Lick a progressive village. Hence, they concentrated their activities in other less-developed villages. It was not until the SNOTRE project was implemented in this village that more development activities were geared towards this village again.

Development Activities

There were some activities organized by other development workers and by the people themselves. Activities introduced by other organizations were kitchen vegetable gardening, a rural cooperative shop, bamboo shoots preservation, wheat growing, tomato growing, and clay pot making. The kitchen vegetable gardening was introduced by an agricultural extension worker in 1987. He noticed that the people in this village had to buy vegetables to eat in spite of the considerable empty land around their houses. He advised the people to grow kitchen vegetables. Currently, most people still grow their own vegetables for household consumption.

A rural cooperative shop was set up as a result of the initiative and advice by a CD worker. The shop was set up in 1989, and located in the village *sala*. In the beginning, the shop operated profitably. Later, the VH appointed a committee to supervise the shop. Once a week, there was a check of the goods. The committee members were paid 20 baht each for their work. Within a year the shop had to pay the committee members nearly 10,000 baht. This made the shop non-profitable, and finally it had to cease operation.

Bamboo shoots preservation was introduced by agricultural officials in 1990. When it was first introduced, people were very exited. However, the following year the number of people making preserved bamboo shoots was drastically reduced. People said they quit because they could not sell the product. The agricultural officials contended that their intention was to teach the people to preserve bamboo shoots for family consumption, not to sell and the local people misunderstood. Other occupations introduced by agricultural extension officials were wheat and tomato growing. A few people participated in wheat growing and about 20 participated in the latter. Due to the uncertainty whether the company would buy the produce or not, people stopped growing both crops in the end.

Another occupation promoted in 1991 was clay pot making. The Industrial Promotion officials came to encourage people to make clay pot for household use. When people made more pots, however, they could not find a place to sell their product and soon afterwards people quit. Some women said they stopped because they felt seasick when they spun the rotary base to model the pot.

Other activities organized by villagers, with some advice from various officials were: the *klum* system, the village funeral group, the village drug bank, and the village rice bank. The *klum* system facilitates the work of the VH, and helps people within the *klum*, especially regarding funeral ceremonies and marriage. There is no definite term for the position of *klum* leader. A *klum* leader steps down when people within his *klum* do not want him to be the leader any more. There are some other activities organized by the people to help each other in the village.

The largest group in the village is the funeral group. All families in this village and in Matrix Village are members of the funeral group. If there is a person who dies in either of the villages, each household member pays 50 baht to help with funeral expenses and the ceremony. The village drug bank is organized by the health volunteer and health messengers in the village. Each household pays a deposit of 10 baht each to buy some medicine from the district health office which is then sold in the village. The people find that this drug bank is very convenient. When they are sick, they can find basic drugs within the village.

Another group that aims to help village members is the rice bank. Currently, there are five small rice banks in the village. Members of each group can borrow rice from the group for growing or family consumption. After harvest, they pay back the rice to the bank with a return of 14 *tungs* for the rent of 10 *tungs*. The surplus rice can later be sold, and the money is shared among group members.

Participating in the SNOTRE Project

In terms of development, villages are classified into three categories: an extremely less-developed village; a less-developed village, and a progressive village. Regarding Salt Lick Village, I used to doubt how an award winning village in 1985 could become an extremely less-developed village a few years later. I always thought that Salt Lick was a progressive village. The SNOTRE project was supposed to be implemented in a backward village. How come this village was selected? A talk with some villagers and the VH himself helped to clarify the point. The following year after it won the village development competition, Salt Lick Village was immediately classified in the progressive category. Since then, very few development activities were initiated in the village.

During this period the VH had a very good relationship with a community development worker. The CD worker noticed that people did not have anything to do after harvest. He suggested to the VH that if he wanted development activities to be implemented in this village, the VH had to report on the village-data form that his was a needy village. That is, the data reported had to be in such a way as to indicate that the conditions in village were worse than they in fact were. One person, a relative of the VH, disclosed that the VH was skillful in preparing such a report. The VH himself explained to me that he filled in the village data on the form frankly according to the conditions at the time. Other village leaders, on the contrary, had the feeling of "losing face" if they reported their actual conditions. They made the data look good. Hence, their villages were not considered an extremely less-developed village while Salt Lick Village was listed in this category.

When the NFE workers from Chiangrai PNFEC looked at the village data to evaluate which community should be the experimental site of the SNOTRE project, they came across the name of this village in the extremely-less developed category. Although their actual visit found that the village did not look as poor as expected, other factors as well as the way the leader showed his willingness to have the project conducted in his village eventually made the NFE workers select this village. Hence, the SNOTRE project (discussed earlier in Chapter 4) was implemented in this village. The people's participation in this project will be discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER VI

PARTICIPATION, DECISION-MAKING AND EFFECTS

This chapter presents the findings of people's participation in the SNOTRE project. The data and findings presented here consist of five main parts: the beneficiaries; the decision-making process; reasons for participation/non-participation; the effects of participation; and the paradigm of development reflected by this project. This study regards actual participation as voluntary involvement of the target population in a development project, whereby the people exercise control over the decision-making process, and implement the project activity so that it benefits the poor people of the community. The examination and interpretation are based on this concept.

The paper describes the findings of each part first. Then a discussion and analysis is provided at the end of each section. The first part presents groups of people who participated and benefited from project activities. The second part describes the decision-making process in key stages of project implementation, and the role of participants in the process. The third part presents reasons for participation and non-participation of people in project activities. Reasons for withdrawal are also added to this part. Then, the effects of people's participation in the project are discussed. Finally, the study discusses the development paradigm which is reflected by the practice of people's participation in the SNOTRE project.

The Beneficiaries of the Project

Since the SNOTRE project organized several activities in Salt Lick Village, the degree of people's participation was varied, so was the amount of benefit from the project. The benefits are in terms of opportunities to be exposed to other occupations, acquire new vocational skills, and receive project funds for an occupational investment. The main activities of the SNOTRE project that potentially benefited those involved in one way or another were: vocational study trips, vocational training courses, and reception of revolving funds. Accessibility of each group of people to these activities provides an indication how much they may have benefited from the project. Other indicators include personal development, social and economic benefits.

Project Participants

Interviews with informants of the study regarding their involvement in vocational study trips and training reveal that the number of participants has varied from activity to activity. The extent to which different groups of people participated in project activities depended on accessibility, duration, and expenses required to be involved in some activities. When the project was designed, the stated target group were the youths, housewives, and unemployed adults. Within these groups, the poor were the main target. A few youths were involved in project activities, but were normally present on behalf of their parents. In practice, all people in the village could participate in the project. No priority was set to focus project activities on a particular group of people.

By and large, participation in vocational study trips and training was open to all. Participation in occupational undertaking and receipt of project funds, on the other hand, were limited by the amount of loans available. This point was the main indicator determining who actually benefited from the project. For the study trips, practically anybody who was available and interested in a particular occupation could join any of the trips. The bus for transportation was provided for free. One woman explained, "The trip was free. PNFEC sent a bus to pick us up. We sometimes prepared lunch bags to eat on the way, too."

Similarly, those who had the time and wanted to participate in vocational training could participate. Typically, people did not have to pay for the training. The instructors and the machine or equipment for training were provided by PNFEC. Only in cloth sewing were the machines not provided, and this was because several people in the village had sewing machines. Trainees in the cloth-sewing course had to own a sewing machine, or borrow from a friend if she did not have one. Therefore, in principle, all villagers had the same opportunity to participate in study trips and vocational training.

In reality, about half of those who participated in study trips were poor farmers. It was possible for them to skip a day's work to participate in a study trip. The training in mushroom growing was held in the housing area and in the paddy field. The investment cost was very low and many people participated in this training course. Both the poor and well-off could participate in this activity without much difficulty. However, some training courses were conducted outside the community due to unavailability of resource persons or equipment in the village. For instance, the training in *saa* papermaking was conducted at the place of an entrepreneur in Chiangrai, and the training in mushroom mycelium-making, was conducted at Lampang NRNFEC. It was difficult for poor farmers to be involved in the training conducted outside the village. A cloth-sewing course, albeit conducted in the village, lasted for 100 hours, and required a participant to have access to a sewing machine. Consequently, this training course was limited to only those who had a machine, and those who did not have to work daily to earn a living.

In addition, the economic outcome of the training could not be seen in the very near future. For the poor, "working today and having something to eat today" was preferable. Therefore, there were not many poor farmers involved in training activities.

The proportion of poor farmers who participated in vocational study trips and vocational training reduced proportionately according to the time required to participate in each activity. As a result, there were fewer farmers from poor families participating in vocational training courses compared to well-off farmers, although their number were relatively comparable in vocational-study trips.

Recipients of the Project Funds

After the training, participants were encouraged to undertake a supplementary occupation. In mushroom growing, some participants continued growing right along following completion of training since it did not require much investment. In other areas that required a large investment, people requested funds from the project. The availability of project funds was an impetus for people to undertake an occupation. Using the criteria set by DNFE (discussed in chapter 4), both the poor and well-off who had participated in a vocational training would be eligible. However, additional criteria were used.

One of the NFE workers who worked closely on this project mentioned that in reality the persons who received funds were: (1) those who participated in the project to some extent and undertook a new occupation for some time; (2) those who were ready to invest some of their own money, and had the tendency to show positive results; (3) those who showed a strong inclination to undertake a new occupation; and (4) those who were recommended by the village head. Since the work of the NFE coordinator needed the cooperation and support of the village leader, the VH automatically had a key role in suggesting to the NFE coordinator who should receive the funds.

Although the final decision was made by the PNFEC director, the NFE coordinator and the village head played a key role in determining who was worthy of the funds. Whereas the poor comprised approximately half of those who participated in study trips, and about a quarter of those who participated in vocational training courses, the majority of those who received funds were in the economically moderate, and the better-off groups (Table 10). In total, there were 40 persons (19.70% of households) who received project funds in six areas of occupations (see also Table 5).

Table 10

Economic Status of Recipients of the Project Funds

	Households		Fund	Proportion
	No	%	Recipients	to group (%)
Very Poor	103	50.73	3	2.91
Moderate	74	36.45	23	31.08
Well-off	26	12.80	14	53.85
Total	203	100.00	40	19.70

Note: The number of people in each group was categorized by the researcher based on the data from interviews and the list of fund recipients.

Further examination of the proportion of fund recipients in relation to the group's social position, the data from Table 10 show that the well-off which comprise only 12.80% of the population, received more than half (53.85%) of the project funds. Poorer farmers which comprise up to 50.73% of the total population, on the contrary, received only 2.91% of the funds (see Table 8 for category of economic group). Only the moderate group (36.45%) received project funds close to its proportion (31.08%). The figure shows that the funds were disproportionately distributed in favor of the well-off group, and only a small portion of the poor received the fund. The list of those who received funds reveals that some individuals were granted loans to invest in more than one kind of occupation. For instance, the VH himself received funds for fish raising, whereas his wife received funds for hog raising, and *saa* papermaking. A few others received funds for papermaking and mushroom growing, or hog raising.

It should be mentioned that quite a number of fund recipients were close relatives of the VH or his wife. A participant in mushroom growing asserted that in the hog-raising group of five persons, in addition to the VH's wife, three persons were close relatives of the VH. Among the three groups of 12 persons who joined the *saa* papermaking, all the members of one group were either the VH's or his wife's relatives. So was the only woman who obtained the fund to buy a sewing machine to do cloth sewing. One of the fund recipients was, in fact, a brother-in-law of the VH, who actually lived in Matrix Village. This person was a school teacher and was economically well-off.

In addition, one of the fund recipients in fish raising was the village *pawliang* (millionaire) who had nearly two hundred cows and more than a hundred *rais* of farmland. Only in the mushroom growing group were fund recipients scattered among other participants. About four persons of the fund recipients were regarded industrious and hard-working. They had a tendency to show positive results. The NFE coordinator admitted, "It is essential to show the poor that the project was effective by having the better off showing the result to the poor." She contended that "in the future, the poor will come and participate." In fact, some of those who received the funds could actually generate some income from undertaking a new occupation. This aspect is discussed later concerning the economic effects.

There were a few others who did not receive project funds, but had undertaken a new occupation. They were, however, mostly from moderate-income and well-off families. Table 11 illustrates the background of those who undertook a new occupation in the project activities at the beginning of the project. From this table, the participation of men and women varied according to the type of occupation. In all, the project involved men and women in nearly equal proportions. Involvement of men and women were based on types of occupations. If an occupation can be done at home and feminine-oriented (such as cloth-sewing and flower making), women would be involved; occupations that

Table 11

Background of Persons Undertaking New Occupations At the Beginning of Project

Occupations	Gender		Education			SES Background			
	M	F	No	G.4	G.6&>	Well	Mod	Poor	Total
Mushroom growing	18	6	-	22	2	5	17	2	24
Mushroom mycelium	2	2	-	4	-	-	4	-	4
Saa papermaking	-	8	-	8	-	2	6	-	8
Hog raising	5	15	2	18	-	2	17	1	20
Fish raising	7	-	-	7	-	4	3	-	7
Chicken raising	3	1	-	4	-	-	3	1	4
Paper flower making	-	6	-	5	1	2	4	-	6
Cloth sewing	-	2	-	2	-	-	2	-	2
Total	35	40	2	70	3	15	56	4	75

Sources: Compiled from DNFE, 1992; NRNFEC, 1991; and 1993 village baseline data.
Note: Occupations that people undertook prior to the project are not included in this table.

required physical work or needed to be done in the field (such as fish raising and mushroom growing) tended to be designated to men. The majority of participants had attained a fourth-grade education. It is noticeable that those who actually undertook supplementary occupations were the moderate and the well-off groups. The poor were hardly involved in occupational undertaking.

Discussion and Analysis

Since there were several types of activities, participation of the people varied depending on the nature of the activity and the amount of time and investment money required. By and large, the opportunity for study trips and vocational training was fundamentally open to all. Participation at this phase was basically voluntary. Poor farmers did participate at this stage, although not as many as richer farmers. Normally, when participation required investment money, such as in undertaking an occupation, involvement of the poor in the activity would be proportionately reduced.

Despite the intention to involve the poor in occupational development and to provide revolving funds for those who lacked financial resources, this study reveals that richer farmers participated more in all types of activities. The lower participation of the disadvantaged group stemmed not only from their economic constraint, but also from the lack of emphasis on this group of people in SNOTRE activities. Instead of providing project funds to the needy poor, or at least according to the proportion of economic groups, the funds were mainly allocated to well-off farmers (Table 8 and 10). The uneven distribution of funds resulted in resentment among poor farmers. This issue is discussed later when addressing the political effects of participation.

The number of farmers from the moderate and well-off families was much higher than poorer farmers in the areas of occupation undertaking and fund acquisition. Many recipients were relatives of the village head. The findings of this study are echoed by Yenpensook (1991, p.2), a supervisor from NRNFEC, who visited the village during the project operation. She contends:

> Participants in the project were moderately better-off farmers who were able to find some money for initial investment. The poor did not have a chance to participate because they earned a living through "*ha chao kin kham*" [work in the morning to eat in the evening]. They earned 60-70 baht a day, and had no money for initial investment. Therefore, the project benefited only the moderate income people whereas the very poor had no chance to participate.

This finding is congruent with several studies, and parallels the argument of the radical thoughts that local elites and well-off people are the key participants of development activities (Singh and Deb, 1985; Wudhikamaraksa, 1983; Hoonpayont, 1985; Thamronglerdrit, 1986; Pearse and Stiefel, 1979; Dusseldorp, 1981). In sum, this study of people's participation in the SNOTRE project reveals that the advantaged group not only participated more in the project activities, but also benefited more in monetary terms.

The Decision-Making Process

Apart from the desired involvement of the disadvantaged group in development activities in general, their participation in decision-making is regarded as an important objective. Participation is less meaningful if people do not have a decisive role in the direction and implementation of development activities. When the SNOTRE project was implemented, it aimed to encourage people to participate in all activities (DNFE, 1988; NRNFEC, 1990). This part of the study examined to what extent the people were involved in the main stages of the project activities: project planning, implementation, and evaluation. The roles of people in the decision making process, in particular, are the focal point of this investigation.

The Project Planning

The SNOTRE project was initiated from the perception of the inadequacy of existing vocational programs to generate income and respond to the needs of rural people. The SNOTRE project was proposed as an alternative to vocational training. This project regarded people's participation as an essential strategy for an effective implementation of project activities. The planning of the project, however, did not really involve the target groups at all planning levels, but only at levels where the activities were conducted in the community. Decisions regarding the design of the project and selection of the site for it in the northern region were made by NFE workers at the regional and provincial NFECs respectively. After examining the list of backward villages in the provincial *kor chor chor song kor* data, NFE workers selected one or two villages in some districts and went to the community. They observed the village in general, and talked to village leaders and people. Local leaders and a few people were asked about their interest in the project. The leaders of Salt Lick Village expressed an interest to participate in the project. However, they did not actually decide whether the project should be implemented in their village. The final decision was made by people in the Chiangrai PNFEC.

When it was decided that the project would be implemented in Salt Lick Village, NFE workers began to find out what the occupational needs of the people were. Staff workers from NRNFEC and PNFEC visited the village three times to collect baseline data and outline the needs of the people. They talked to the village head, a few local leaders, and some villagers randomly. The village head explained about the NFE workers:

> At first a group of NFE workers came to the village to see if the village is fit for the project, saying that they would bring some activities to the village. They said that they would promote vocational development in the village. They asked me what occupation I wanted. I told them that I would like to make saa paper. They suggested that I set up an occupational group.

The baseline data collected covered various aspects: economic, local resources, social, cultural, governmental and local organizations, and people's interest in occupational development. With regard to needs identification, the local leaders and a number of people expressed their views through interviews with the NFE workers. Data collection was done by focus-group and individual interviews (NRNFEC, 1991b). When asked about their needs, most people said they wanted water for cultivation, and extra income from supplementary occupations. By and large, people did not specify what kind of occupation they would like to undertake. Their concern was not the type of occupation, but something that could earn them additional income.

The NFE workers analyzed the data to determine what kind of occupations should be promoted to suit the needs and living conditions of people in Salt Lick Village. Although a team of NFE workers was sent to collect data, fundamentally, the data were analyzed by a staff worker from the regional center who had been trained in needs assessment.

From the analysis, the NFE workers concluded that the main economic problem in Salt Lick Village was that people did not have an additional income after harvest. They suggested: (1) more cooperation among government organizations to deal with the problem of the lack of water for cultivation, as well as to find a way to promote occupations so that people could earn additional income after harvest; (2) promotion of progressive leaders who have profound knowledge about the community and technical skills; (3) more agricultural promotion to increase productivity, such as mixed farming, kitchen gardening, food preservation, chicken raising, and mushroom growing; (4) occupational guidance so that people could envisage ways to earn a living, such as provision of occupational information, and occupational-study trips; (5) skills training in the area where people possess some basic skills, such as in fishnet making, bamboo handicraft, and carpentry, as well as providing knowledge in marketing and occupational management for people in the village (NRNFEC, 1992, p.62-63). Later, these suggestions were transmitted into SNOTRE project activities conducted in the village.

From several documents pertaining to the project (DNFE, 1988; DNFE, 1992; NRNFEC, 1991a; NRNFEC, 1992) and from interviews with villagers, it seems that the nature of the program design derived from the perspective of government officials regarding which approach and methodology would meet the objectives of the project. The project's goals, strategies, and implementation were set and planned by DNFE officials, mainly in the central and regional offices. The people did not have a chance to participate at the project planning stage.

Project Implementation

The main activities of the SNOTRE project were study trips, vocational training, and occupational undertaking. Occupational study trips were one approach to expose people to other occupations which they might later be interested in doing themselves. When the NFE workers went to the village, they called a meeting with people, housewives in particular, and asked them what occupations interested them. Normally, the NFE workers informed the VH of the meeting and asked him to make an announcement through the village loudspeaker. Whoever had free time could participate in the meeting. The meeting was voluntary. At the initial meeting, about 30-40 persons were interested in the project, had free time, and thus, participated in the first meeting. The NFE coordinator explained about the meeting:

> When we asked them what kind of occupation they want to visit or undertake, they said they wanted to look at bamboo handicraft, *saa* papermaking, and mushroom growing. We asked them to list the names of those who wanted to join the study trip. One person was supposed to join only one visit, but some

participated more than once.

On other occasions, the NFE workers had lists of occupations with them and asked people if they were interested in any of the occupations mentioned in the lists. The village head also had a role in identifying what occupations the villagers should go to visit and try. He was the one who suggested *saa*-papermaking, mushroom-growing and fish-raising. A few people admitted that they suggested *saa*-papermaking and mushroom-growing as well. Once people agreed on the occupation to visit, NFE workers arranged the time for the trip. The NFE teacher helped coordinate and compile the names of those who would take the trips. While on the trip, some occupations were added to the trip en route so that people could see a few more things in one trip. By and large, the occupations they went to see were suggested by the village head, the participants, as well as the NFE workers from PNFEC.

However, sometimes the actual trip was not discussed with the group. Only the village leaders and some villagers knew about the trip and the places to be visited. Some who joined the study trip did not know exactly where they were going. One lady described that she heard the village head announce on the loudspeaker saying that those who were interested in joining the study trip should meet on a specific date. She decided to join the trip. "Wherever they took us to, we just went with them, the NFE coordinator was the one to arrange for the trip."

After coming back from the trip, people were encouraged to discuss among themselves if they would like to start a supplementary occupation. A few villagers decided to try a new occupation soon afterward. Some were reluctant, and some needed additional training before they could make a decision to undertake a supplementary occupation. For those who would like to be trained in a particular area, the PNFEC provided them with resource persons, or an entrepreneur for training. Occupational groups were set up according to interest. Six persons showed interest in making *saa* paper, and were sent to be trained at the place they visited earlier. In other occupations, the PNFEC arranged for the training. Mushroom-training was done in the village, in a big group at first. Then, the instructor divided the people into three smaller groups, and trained them at three different houses. After the instruction, people began to grow mushrooms in their areas, and/or paddy fields.

Some vocational training courses were initiated by the NFE coordinator. She sometimes asked the people: "Would you like to try this/that?" An NFE staff member who had been involved in the evaluation of project activities expressed his doubts about the notion of participation and decision-making. He contended:

> It is not clear that the notion has been put into practice. Many of the project activities have been analyzed by the project staff regarding what should be done. Part of the framework had been developed even before the project started.

The NFE teacher, who worked on the project during the time the project was initiated, similarly reported that most of the activities were prepared by PNFEC. Quite a number of occupations for vocational Interest Group training courses were allocated to the village. She explained:

> Sometimes I didn't have time to think about what to do, but I had to spend the budget. Normally the budget would come in the last months of the fiscal year. So we had to organize activities in a hurry. The PNFEC was the one to determine what kind of vocational training should be conducted.

Additional Interest Group training was meant to provide relevant knowledge and skills for people in the community. A few training courses, such as paper flower making, and cloth stitching were proposed by the NFE workers. Some courses were relevant to the situations occurred in the community during that period. When there was a gas explosion in the village in 1991, the NFE workers asked people if they would like to learn more about the use of cooking gas, fuel and chemical compounds. The Interest

Group course was offered when people showed their interest. The NFE coordinator also observed that some people were building their houses and they had to buy cement blocks. On one occasion, she asked a participant if he would like to try cement block making. He explained, "I told her that I would like to '*long paw*' (try). She told me to find 4-5 persons who were interested in cement block making." When a group was established, she contacted an instructor to train people. On another occasion, when those who grew mushrooms found that it was inconvenient to buy mycelium, they asked the NFE coordinator if she could provide them with mycelium-making training. Five persons were selected from the mushroom growing group to be trained at NRNFEC.

In terms of occupational undertakings, although encouraged by the NFE workers, people basically made the decision by themselves. In rural Thailand, the husband is always the head of the family. The wife, however, has quite a considerable role in decision making (Omvedt, 1986; Suparb, 1991). Normally, the wife is the one who saves and keeps the money. Most people in the village noted that before making a decision about something, they discussed the matter with their spouses. One person explained his decision to raise fish:

> When I joined the study trip and visited the person who raised fish, I asked him how to do it. I took notes about what he told me. When I came back, I consulted my wife. Then I went to see the agricultural extension official asking him about fish-raising....After visiting him, I consulted with my wife again, and she agreed.

The availability of revolving fund was a stimulus for some people to decide to undertake a supplementary occupation. There were a few who did not get funds, and decided to use their own money. In order to get funds from the project, participants were required to write a proposal stating which occupation they were going to undertake, what kind of material they wanted to buy, and the amount of funds they needed. The NFE coordinator and the teacher helped them write the proposal. Theoretically, the decision about who should receive funds was done by PNFEC. In practice, the NFE coordinator and the village head influenced the decision regarding funds.

Although the funds were supposed to be allocated to the needy and poor, this was not what was done in practice. Some villagers were aware that the village head had a key role in deciding about fund recipients. One elderly woman articulated, "Paw Luang (village head) was the one to decide who should get the money, '*rao mon bor ton khao*' (we are too late)." Regarding this aspect, the NFE coordinator admitted that most of fund recipients were well-off farmers. She contended that she had asked poorer farmers but they were reluctant to participate. This resulted in many well-off farmers becoming the project fund recipients. However, the more important reason why well-off farmers, rather than the poor ones received the funds was that the PNFEC and NFE workers did not believe that the poor would be able to repay the money within the designated time. In other words, the poor were a high risk group. The NFE coordinator's comments below suggest, the NFE staff seemingly felt that they had the obligation as employees to see that loans from the revolving fund went to those highly likely to pay them back:

> At first we didn't "dare" let them borrow. Later, we let the people borrow since the Department asked why didn't our center give loans to the people to undertake some new occupations. But when we actually let them borrow, we got part of the money back. Now they paid back more than a hundred thousand. People asked me not to press them to pay the money back.

Once PNFEC was urged by DNFE to follow the original plan, it began to give out loans. The loans, however, were given to richer farmers or those endorsed by the village head, whom they thought would be able to repay. Another point mentioned by NFE workers was that richer farmers could afford to take risks. They could undertake a new occupation to set an example for the poor. NFE workers believed that the poor, upon seeing productive results, would participate later. It seems fairly evident that the people in the village were not involved in allocating, or deciding who should receive, the funds.

When there was a problem regarding the supplementary occupation, solving the problem depended on the experience of the people. With respect to some occupations, such as hog and fish-raising, which people had experienced before, people did everything on their own. For occupations new to them, such as *saa* papermaking and mushroom growing, the NFE workers assisted them to find markets to sell their products. This was to ensure that the people had a place to sell their products. For instance, the NFE workers would help contact a canning factory in a nearby district so that people could sell their mushrooms to this factory. However, such assistance did not always prove helpful in that often such marketing arrangements offered very low prices and later on led the producers to sell the mushrooms in local markets and in the city themselves (NRNFEC, 1991).

In papermaking, most of the confronting problems were assisted by NFE workers. People seldom decided where to buy or sell the materials themselves. When participants had a problem with the poor quality of paper, the PNFEC also helped to replace the grinding machine. Sometimes, the NFE coordinator acted as an intermediary bringing raw materials, and taking the product to market. Since she had a pickup truck and went to the village occasionally, project participants relied on her for transportation of raw materials and the products. The intermediary role of the NFE workers, on the one hand, was to provide assistance to village people. On the other hand, it could be seen as doing things for people, which was contrary to the concept of participation and self-help.

Project Evaluation

This project was conducted in the form of action research. Evaluation of the project was an ongoing process. Ideally, feedback about the project and the opinions of the people were to be used to adjust the project strategies. To some extent, the people expressed what they thought about the project through the NFE teacher and the NFE coordinator who regularly came to the village. Some people were interviewed by PNFEC and NRNFEC staff as part of the mid-point project evaluation. Most participants expressed their satisfaction with the project approach, while some non-participants said it was no different from development projects in the past.

However, the team sent out to evaluate the project seemed to focus their evaluation on the project participants, and was interested, first and foremost, in reporting on the success rather than who participated in the project. The expedient nature of their concern did not permit them to include in their evaluation the matter of why the poor remained excluded from the project. Although the NFE staff realized that the project had not yet reached the poorest group in the community, no serious attempt was made to reach this disadvantaged group. Those who had their names on the waiting list for a loan did not have a chance to receive funds. Action research, as they claimed to have adopted, was not adjusted to meet the needs of the poor, in particular. Although some local leaders and people were involved in a small part of the project evaluation, they merely expressed how they felt about the project and did not determine what should be done or adjusted if the project were to be improved, or expanded to other communities.

The mid-point and final reports (NRNFEC, 1991; DNFE, 1992) of the project tended to present only the positive effects of the project, such as the new occupations introduced, number of people involved, and a few promising cases. People did not actually have a precise role in evaluating the project. The evaluation of the project was largely based on the perspectives of NFE workers who were involved in the project rather than the project's target groups. Opinions of non-participants were not presented. In fact, the final report about the project implementation was exclusively based on the report sent to DNFE by the provincial and regional NFE centers. This report, by and large, presented the positive aspects of the project.

Discussion and Analysis

The SNOTRE project, which adopted the notion of people's participation as a strategy, did not actually give much decision- making power to the participants of the project. An application of participation models (Uphoff and Cohen, 1979; Rahman, 1981; and UNICEF, 1981) to justify the degree of participation suggests that people were allowed to be involved in decision-making process at a very minimal level.

At the planning stage, people were not involved directly in the project. Although staff workers from the regional and provincial centers visited some villages prior to making the decision about which community to select, the people in the community did not have an opportunity to decide whether they wanted to participated in the project. At the needs assessment level, many people had an opportunity to provide baseline data and identify their needs. However, they had a minimal role in assessing their needs since the analysis was chiefly done by NFE workers at the regional center.

At the implementation stage, by and large, people provided some inputs regarding occupations to visit, and the kind of training needed. However, people were not actively mobilized in the group process of identifying occupations to visit and training needs. The role of the people was overshadowed by the role of village leaders and NFE workers. In the group process, people were not conscientized to perceive their power in deciding or controlling the project direction. To a large extent, they still had to rely on NFE workers. While solutions to problems in occupations which people had previous experience with were handled by the people themselves, solutions involving new occupations were largely provided by NFE workers.

At the benefit level, basically only the NFE workers and the village head decided who should receive project funds. Not unpredictably, this led to the exclusion of the poorer members of the village community from participating and benefiting from the project. Had the majority of people been involved in decisions regarding the allocation of funds, probably more poor farmers would have had an opportunity to receive loans. Since people in the village knew each other quite well, they could easily identify the needy persons. The evaluation of the project, however, involved interviews with people, but they were not asked to judge whether they felt the project was a success or a failure.

All in all, there was only little (and moderate for some activities) participation of people in the SNOTRE project activities, especially participation in terms of decision-making power. This finding was further confirmed by my observation of the people in village activities, such as monthly meetings, and meetings of people with government officials during the data collection period. During monthly meetings, the village head tended to act as an intermediary, reading official announcements to people. When there was something to consider or to be approved by the villagers, he first expressed his own opinion and then asked people what they thought about it. The villagers generally inclined to agree with the village head. He did not seem to like argument from people. One respectable person explained:

> In a meeting, he used to say to the people at the beginning that they would "*jaab khao kui gun*" [hold the knees and talk] like brothers. But in actuality he just mostly talked alone. I used to be present at meetings. When there was someone talking or discussing about something with opposite opinions, he would say that the person was "*khaeng kor*" [against/insubordinate] him. So the people just kept quiet. Sometimes, they come to the meeting to sign their names, and then gradually move out of the temple.

During my study in the village, however, I did not see people signing their names at the meeting. From my participation in village monthly meetings, I observed that the VH did allow some discussion during the last part of the session. By that time, it would be rather late and people would not want to discuss the issue very much. In addition, the discussion was presented as basically an "agree" or "disagree" type of decision rather than a discussion that sought the opinion of the people regarding "what" and "how" to accomplish something. People did not actually play an active role in the decision-making process. A meeting between village people and government officials at which I was present was similar. People mostly listened to what the officials had to say and the officials tended not to ask the people what they thought about an issue.

In his study, Hirsch (1989) observes that rural people were treated merely as receiving ends of development, and did not have a role in the decision-making process. The findings in this study are consistent, though not to the same degree. True participation goes much beyond the mere provision of inputs into projects initiated from outside the community; it involves decisions being taken and plans being formulated on the local level (Vivian, 1991, p.3). The SNOTRE project, although applying the notion of people's participation, did not really empower the people to control over the decision-making process. The key areas, namely planning, implementation and allocation of benefits, and evaluation were largely decided by NFE workers, with some input from the village head.

There are also other explanations why people had only a minimal role in the decision-making process. First of all, most development projects in the past treated people as recipients of development whereby development workers decided what to do for, or give to rural people (Rubin, 1974; Turton, 1987; Mingmaneenakin, 1988; Arnstein, 1969; Hirsch, 1989). Although the concept changed from 'work for' to 'work with', from government officials as 'chao nai' (boss) to 'phu rub chai' (someone to serve the people), the former concept still lingers in the minds of some officials (Wiratnipawan, 1989). Some development workers tend to 'think for', or make decisions for people, assuming that they know more than people without formal schooling or training. In the SNOTRE project, most activities were planned by NFE workers, including decision regarding solutions to some problems.

Secondly, when participation was recommended as a strategy, the concept was not clear to NFE staff workers what was meant by participation. As Hirsch observes concerning the application of participation in government agencies:

> Participation is referred to in Thai official discourse as *kaan khao maa mii suan ruam*, or literally to come in and take part. This connotes participation as a willingness of villagers to conform with projects initiated by government development agencies....this means an adaptation to bureaucratic procedure. It is devoid of the principles of initiative, variety, or spontaneity that alternative interpretations of participation stress (Hirsch, 1989, p. 51).

Participation of people in this project, therefore, was high in terms of quantity rather than quality. For instance, one of the project reports mentioned that the number of people participating in study trips, vocational training and occupational undertaking were 184, 143, and 128 respectively (NRNFEC, 1992, p.128). This high number, however, does not mean that they had a key role in project activities.

Another point that contributed to a low decision-making opportunity by rural people was the need for "quick results" (Oakley and Marsden, 1984; Setty, 1985; Montgomery, 1988; Hirsch, 1989; Dias, 1985). All levels of NFE officials wanted this project to be successful. This put pressure on NFE workers at the local level to show results of their work. Sometimes, it could also lead to 'cosmetic' arrangement. It normally takes a long time for people who have a long history in the 'culture of silence' to develop confidence in their ability to change their circumstances (Freire, 1970). Historically and culturally, rural people were used to a patron-client relationship with government officials (Rubin, 1974; Hirsch, 1989; Turton, 1987). More time is needed, and development workers need to be patient. If not, they end up making a decision for people. Thus, participation gets reduced simply to take part in the activity. The need for quick results regarding this project, similarly, led to minimal decision-making by the rural people.

Participation and Non-Participation

People always have their own reasons for participating or not-participating in rural development activities. This study interviewed 32 participants (17 persons participated in most activities including undertaking an occupation or receiving project funds; and 15 persons participated only in a study trip or vocational training) and 20 non-participants of the SNOTRE project. The followings are their views regarding factors that influenced their participation, reasons for non-participation, and withdrawal from project activities.

Factors Affecting Participation

When participants were asked what made them participate in the SNOTRE project, they reported that the factors that influenced their participation were: economic reasons; the project itself and the way it was conducted; the characteristics of the NFE workers and their relationship with the people; and social factors.

1) Economic Factors. As the SNOTRE was an income-generating project, the main driving force for participation, for most participants, was an expectation of economic pay-off. Consistent with findings of Visetpojanakit (1977) and the Department of Community Development (1976), most participants responded that the economic factor was the main motivation for their participation. After harvest time, they did not have things to do that would allow them to earn additional income. A middle-aged man stated why he participated, "I want to have some extra income". One woman asserted, "I think it would contribute to some financial benefit. It is also let me use my leisure time more productively." Similarly, another person contended:

> I would like to do something where I can get constant income, not just go fishing or making fishnets which don't allow me to have continuous earning. When this project was introduced in the village, I had a feeling that I wanted to give it a try.

When they went to visit other places, villagers learned that some occupations were quite profitable, they would like to try those jobs. One lady decided to grow mushrooms because she thought it was a good way to have an additional income. She bought 100 bags of mushroom mycelium at the place where they saw the mushroom growing. When she came back, she tried out the mycelium and found that it worked. She began to feel confident that she could undertake mushroom growing as a supplementary occupation. Similarly, another person learned how to make a hat with an entrepreneur during the study trip, and brought some materials to the village. After coming back, she tried to make a hat on her own.

There were also those who participated later after seeing that the others did quite well. A member of the third *saa* papermaking group explained why she participated later:

> I observed that the *Maeluang*'s group was able to produce and sell the paper in a short time. Since there were too many people in that group, when my mother-in-law and another person set up a new group, I decided to join them.

There were some people who observed their neighbours and found that they benefited economically. Therefore, they decided to try a new occupation on their own. Three persons began to dig a pond to raise fish, some raised hogs, one person raised partridges, and another developed a mixed farm, adding hogs, chicken, and fish ponds to his farm. They were all motivated by economic factor to undertake a new occupation.

2) Project-related Factors. When asked to compare this project with projects they had become involved with in the past, most respondents said the projects were not the same. While most efforts in the past introduced something to people for just a short period of time and then left the community, this project provided integrated activities and

continual support. The continuity assured people that if they participated, they could get additional support from project workers. At the time of this study, which was two-and-a-half years after the commencement of the project, some people still continued activities such as mushroom growing, fish and hog raising, and paper-flower making.

In this project, before individuals decided to participate, people had a chance to visit others who had undertaken the same occupation they were interested in. This motivational stage attracted their attention. This finding is congruent with Lohitwisas (1991) who finds that program-related factors, such as the length of the time, and motivation of the income-generating activities, facilitate the participation of women in NFE activities. An opportunity to train in a particular occupation ensured them that they would possess the skills essential for undertaking an occupation. In addition, the provision of experts and consultants in their occupation, as well as the availability of revolving funds, were supporting factors that induced people to participate.

Since the project organized several activities, those who were not decisive whether they should start a new occupation could actually select to participate in a non-risky activity such as a study trip, or vocational training. Those who were determined and committed could be involved in occupational undertaking. The variety of project activities organized with this project, and the different levels of risk-taking that was provided enabled people to participate at the level they preferred.

In fact, the availability of revolving funds was a crucial factor for many participants to be involved in project activities. Had the funds been proportionately distributed, the project would have had greater impact on the community development.

3) Relationship Between Development Workers and People. Many participants admitted they participated in the project because they trusted the NFE teacher and the coordinator.

> The NFE teacher was very active. She came to the village every day and sometimes stayed overnight. She coordinated between the people and PNFEC and transferred our needs to PNFEC. It's unfortunate that she was transferred to another district.

Regarding the NFE coordinator, project participants said that she related very well with people. "She was very friendly and treated us nicely. Most people in the village knew her and perceived her as someone that helped people." One elderly man said, "In this project, the people have good relationships with the government officials." The people's positive perception of the NFE workers as active and trustworthy persons made people willing to participate in the various activities that were organized.

For those who did not receive project funds, they felt resentful that the fund was unequally distributed. However, most of them still had a positive view of the NFE workers. They considered the uneven funding as the VH's favouritism and unfairness rather than of the NFE workers. During the period of the experiment, the NFE coordinator went to the village nearly every other week. With her friendly personal characteristic and rhetorical skills, people tended to join her when she asked them to participate in SNOTRE activities. "Since she comes to help us, we have to cooperate and participate", a participant elaborated.

The encouragement of the NFE teacher and the coordinator had a considerable impact on the participation of the people. Other researchers, such as Kantavong (1985), Stanley (1986), Thamronglerdrit (1986), and Chansawang (1987) find through their studies similarly that the role of development workers, their frequent visits, and relationship with people facilitate people's participation in development activities. In addition, the visits of high-ranking officials from the province and the Bangkok office, and visits by people in other communities also had an impact on their participation at the initial stage. They felt that they had gained more attention from other people. In the later stages, it was the economic output that made them continue the activity.

4) Social Factors. This factor has moderate impact in drawing people to participate in SNOTRE project activities. In the beginning, when the project emphasized the group process, the invitation from friends, neighbours, and NFE workers had some influence on their participation. In the study trip, for instance, some people joined the group because their friends and relatives were going as well.

Other researchers also find that persuasion from neighbours (Daoweerakul, 1984) and good relationship with other people (Visetpojanakit, 1977) have an impact on people's participation in development activities. Some of those who joined the trips gave similar reason, "Everybody was going, so I join them too." Some took a chance to participate so that they could visit other places, and a few just went there for fun.

Although subsequent participation in vocational training and an occupation undertaking depended on individual interest, their participation in study trips exposed them to other occupations which might motivate them later. Similarly, a few persons joined the *saa* papermaking or mushroom growing groups because some of their relatives asked them to become involved.

The mutual relationship with the NFE coordinator and the teacher also led some participants to be involved in vocational trips and training. Most of the members of the *saa* papermaking in *Maeluang*'s group were involved in the production because they were *Maeluang*'s relatives. There were also a few participants who undertook an occupation later after observing that their neighbours earned money from a new occupation. They saw others doing something successfully so people felt they should try it as well.

Reasons for Non-Participation

Although the project applied the concept of people's participation as a strategy, it could not actually reach the disadvantaged group of people. Most non-participants were people in the lower level of society. In terms of awareness of the project, most people knew that the project was being conducted in their village. At least, they learned about the project from their neighbours and relatives. However, some did not participate in any project activities. There are two main reasons for non-participation: economic constraints and personal reasons.

1) Economic Constraints. A discussion with many non-participants reveals that most of them would actually have liked to participate. The main reason that they did not do so was that they were "*haa chao kin kham*" (work in the morning to have something to eat in the evening) farmers. They did not want to lose daily income or to skip a day's work to do something of which the benefit could not be foreseen in the short term. A young farmer asserted:

> We have to work every day to earn some money. Participation in the project means that we lose this part of our income. We can earn 40-50 baht a day, or if we go to work in a construction company, we can earn up to 70-80 baht a day. Since we have to *haa chao kin kham*, we cannot be trained for several days without getting any income.

His wife then added that after joining for a day or two, the wife would urge the husband to quit the training to work so that they could earn some money. The NFE teacher confirmed, "If there is something which people can earn money immediately, they do that thing first. When the job is done, they would go back to the former activity." Non-participants tended to say that they had "no time," meaning that they had to do something else when activities were conducted in the village.

To get the poor involved, it sounds reasonable to compensate them with some "per diem" during the training. However, there is a practical problem: the very poor might not be selected to participate, and if no selection were made, probably there would be too many people interested in participating.

In general, these groups of non-participants were daily labourers, the landless and the poor. For them, "*tum waan nii dai kin waan nii*" (work to day and eat today) is preferable. They did not want to do anything that took a long time to earn money. A middle-aged man elaborated:

> If I go fishing or catching rats, I would definitely get something to eat. If I join in the training, I will not be able to earn something for a few days. After the training, I am not sure if I will be able to make any money out of it.

Some said that it was possible for them to join a study trips for a day or two. However, they foresaw that they could not undertake a new occupation. One poor farmer gave his reason:

> You know, being poor like me, I can't afford to take risk. To undertake an occupation, I have to invest some money. If something goes wrong, or if I can't make any profit, what should I do? It takes me a long time to save just a little money. I can't take the risk. If I have lots of money, I would like to try too. Right now, it's better to wait and observe what other people are doing. If it is actually good, I might consider joining later.

Among those who did not participate, some mentioned that they had a better source of income. The health volunteer, for instance, mentioned that he could earn more from construction in the village than from a new occupation. In fact, some poor people went to work as construction workers in big cities during the summer. In construction work, they knew that they did not have to take a risk, and they could even calculate how much they could earn from work. Since the poor had to do something to earn a daily living, participation, particularly in occupational undertaking, among this group of people was accordingly low.

2) Personal Reasons. Personal factors for non-participation are varied: having something else to do; being not sure about the result; not being informed about project activities; having no land in the housing area; past negative experience; and age

constraint. Many non-participants said they had something else to do during the time a particular activity was undertaken and some mentioned that their relatives had already participated. If they wanted to do so later, they could learn from their relatives.

Another reason is that they were not sure about the results of the new occupation. They preferred to "wait and see" how it went with those who participated first. A few people said they did not know about the activities. The main mass communication system in the village, aside from the village meeting, was through loudspeakers. Probably at the time of the announcement for the activities, they might not be in the village. A middle-aged man stated, "When I knew that there were some activities going on, a few trips were already conducted. I felt I was left out, so I didn't participate in the subsequent activities."

No land in the housing area is another reason people mentioned to explain why they did not grow mushrooms, raise fish or hogs. Although in the first year, the mushroom growing took place in the paddy field, people found that it was more convenient to take care of the mushrooms or animals if it was done in the housing area, or in a field close to their houses.

A negative experience with development activities in the past was another reason some mentioned why they were not involved in this project. Lohitwisas (1991) finds a similar reason. Some people were involved in development activities in the past, and the experience was not impressive. They thought this project might be the same, so they did not want to spend time participating.

Older people tended to say that they did not participate because they did not have anybody to help them, or they said they were "too old" to try a new occupation. One person maintained that at first he thought about growing mushrooms. However, he decided not to do so because his wife was not good at selling things.

Reasons for Withdrawal

There were a few who participated in some of the project activities and later dropped out. The first rationale was the low profit of the new occupation. If they could not make any profit, or could not save any family expenses, people would cease the activity. Two of the three papermaking groups ceased production in 1991 and 1992 respectively because of low profit, while *Maeluang*'s group was not sure if they would continue making *saa* paper in 1993.

Another reason stemmed from dissatisfaction concerning the administration of the project. Some fund recipients were not satisfied with the way the NFE coordinator administered the money from the sale. According to the agreement, people had to pay back the money every six months, and they had to repay the whole amount within two years. Later, people felt that they could not repay the money within the limited time. One of the papermaking group members explained, "When we sent them paper, we didn't get the money back. I don't know where we can get money for further investment. Finally, we stopped."

The NFE coordinator argued that when members of this group received funds from the project, they divided the money amongst themselves and spent it on something else. Finally, they did not have money for further investment. She said it was necessary for PNFEC to deduct money in order to pay back the funds. The money was to be used in other villages applying the same model of vocational training.

Another person, once an active participant, decided not to further participate in any SNOTRE activities because she felt she was being treated unfairly. She was the secretary of the papermaking group. When they actually started producing paper, the group excluded her saying that there were already many people in the group. When she joined the cement block making, she thought she did quite well. "Within our group, I paid close attention to the training. The men just played draughts. I was confident that I could do a good job."

Later PNFEC conducted training for cement-block making in another village. One of the men, who was trained at the same time as the woman, was invited by the NFE coordinator to be a resource person. He was paid 150 baht a day for 10 days. She felt the NFE coordinator was unfair selecting that person as a resource person. When the NFE coordinator asked her if she wanted to do something else, she said she had no more interest in the project. She emotionally articulated:

> I was bored, and didn't want to join. When they asked me to participate in something, I worked actively, but they didn't support me. Since the NFEC came to support people, they should not neglect people. People should be assisted to get ahead. If not, it will be useless. When she asked me if I wanted to do some activities, in my mind I wanted something. But because of the bad feelings, I told her that I didn't want anything.

People often compared themselves with others who participated in the project. The dissatisfaction, particularly concerning perceived unfair treatment, made some persons feel bored and eventually these individuals dropped out.

Discussion and Analysis

There were several factors that affected participation, non-participation, and dropout of people in the SNOTRE project. Participants's perception of economic benefits was the main factor for their participation. Other factors concerned: the way the project was conducted; relationships with NFE workers and their personal characteristics; and influence or persuasion from neighbours and friends. Non-participants provided two main reasons: economic constraints and a variety of personal reasons. Those who participated in project activities and later dropped out gave their reasons such as unprofitability of the new occupation, and unfair treatment by NFE workers or local leaders.

The findings regarding factors influencing participation, as similar to other studies, are: economic factors (Visetpojanakit, 1977; Department of Community Development, 1976); project-related factors (Lohitwisas, 1991); Relationship with development workers (Kantavong, 1985; Stanley, 1986; Thamronglerdrit, 1986; Chansawang, 1987); and social factors (Visetpojanakit, 1977). The reasons for non-participation, however, are different from other studies. Only Lohitwisas' (1991) study reveals some coherent points, namely necessity to work (or do something else) to earn a living; having no land in housing area; past negative experience with development efforts; not being informed about the activities; and age constraints. For others, the differences might be due to the nature of the development project. Other studies (Daoweerakul, 1984; Hoonpayont, 1985) examined a village-development project; whereas the nature of this project, as similar to the project in Lohitwisas' study, was an income-generating program. Reasons for non-participation, therefore, can be due to the different nature of the development projects.

The degree of participation varied from one activity to another depending on the type of occupation and the way activities were organized. The intention of the project was to reach the poor, but the nature of some occupations such as the *saa* papermaking required a large sum of investment money, in which the poor could hardly afford to participate. Had the project attempted to reach the very poor and tried to adjust the activities according to the people's needs, time, and financial limitation, the nature of occupations introduced might have been different.

The Effects of Participation

Designed as a new approach for vocational training for rural people, the project had a moderate impact on three aspects: the vocational educational system, the NFE staff workers, and the people in the SNOTRE villages. In terms of vocational education, a new model for the implementation of vocational training was developed (see Chapter 4). In principle, the model emphasized micro-planning, and conducting vocational activities according to the needs of people in each particular community. Other elements that were part of the new model were: locally-based vocational curricula, training strategies, and new regulations and rules concerning vocational training.

In areas of personnel development, a number of NFE staff workers had been trained in Thailand, and some were trained abroad. Up to 20 NFE staff workers had overseas training and experience in vocational development. NFE workers at all levels who were responsible for the project were involved in workshops and practical training in such areas as micro-planning, qualitative research, action research, and curriculum development. These staff workers were expected to apply their knowledge in the implementation of the project.

The main effect of the project was on the people in the target villages, especially those who were involved in project activities. As an income-generating scheme, it was expected that the project would yield a positive economic outcome. When this study was undertaken in mid-1992, it was two-and-a-half years after the initiation (half a year after the termination of the experimental phase) of the project in the village.

My data collection through observations and interviews with people in the village from July 1992 to January 1993 reveals some consequences of the project operation. The consequences are categorized as economic, social, personal, and political effects, which are now discussed respectively.

Economic Effects

The effect of the project on participants that was most easily observable was in the economic area. The most observable activity was the supplementary occupations people undertook. At the time of this study, nearly 30 persons (including a few who did not receive project funds) were involved in some occupations introduced. A few of them undertook these occupations as a supplementary source of income all year round, while some only were involved in these areas in the summer time.

When the project was conducted, quite a number of participants were involved in one or more of the project activities. One housewife participated in four occupations: *saa* papermaking, paper flower making, cloth sewing, and hog raising. In one family, the wife participated in both straw and *Nangrom* mushroom growing, while the husband was involved in fish raising and cement block making. To see the economic effect of their participation, this particular family is briefly illustrated.

Prior to the project, the family had only one source of income from rice growing. The wife was involved in a study trip and mushroom training course organized by the project. After the training, she devoted most of her time growing straw mushrooms. When there was some difficulty finding a place to buy mushroom mycelium, she was one person who was trained to make mycelium by NRNFEC. She was one of the persons to receive a loan from the project for an initial investment. Two of her relatives joined her in growing straw mushrooms. The investment needed for mushroom growing was reasonably low. The investment for straw mushrooms of about 950 baht would earn her about 2,250 baht within 14 days. For *Nangrom* mushrooms, the initial investment of 250 baht (excluding permanent materials) earned her 3,500 baht over a three-month period. By village standards, this income was considerably high. At one time, she thought she would stop growing rice and devote her time to mushroom growing.

> Before that I didn't store a lot of rice straw. When I was able to make mycelium myself, I thought this year I won't grow rice. I thought I would grow only mushrooms. Before that I didn't store a lot of rice straw because it was hard to buy mycelium. Now I can do it myself. I will store more rice straw, so that I can

grow mushrooms any time.

While his wife was involved in mushroom growing, the husband participated in fish raising. He dug a fish pond behind his house and raised fish. Although there were not many fish to sell due to the small size of the pond, the fish were sufficient for household consumption. He was quite confident that fish raising could supplement his income, so in early January 1993, he dug another pond. Besides fish raising, he participated in cement block making in early 1992. After the training, he made cement blocks and build a new toilet by himself. This saved him some money since he did not have to buy cement blocks from a factory.

Another family that participated in the project and earned extra income from new occupations was the family of the village head. They received loans from the project to invest in three out of the four occupations. The VH developed mixed farming by growing mango trees around fish ponds, and raised hogs above the ponds so that the waste from the hogs could dry and be used to feed the fish in the ponds. Once every three months, he caught fish to sell, and earned about 30,000 baht. The mango trees were still at the infancy stage. The VH often said that he undertook supplementary occupations as an example to other villagers. His wife *(Maeluang)* participated in the *saa* papermaking group, and raised hogs. The papermaking did not yield much profit. Hog raising was quite profitable, particularly raising female hogs and selling their offspring. However, the price fluctuated and people sometimes suffered a loss.

Others who participated in the project earned varying amounts of money depending on the type of occupation, and amount of work. Some earned additional income from mushroom growing and hog raising after harvest until the transplanting season. Then, people would quit temporarily, and resume their work in the field. At the time of this study, four persons grew mushrooms beyond the planting season, and one grew mushrooms during the entire year round. Two persons occasionally earned extra income from making paper flowers and wreaths, and one person earned money by making or repairing clothes. Some people raised hogs and chicken prior to the project, but in smaller numbers. Most people raised one or two hogs and a few locally-breed chickens. When the project promoted these occupations, people began to raise more hogs and began to feed them processed food. By and large, the project was viewed by participants as economically effective.

It should be mentioned that the project had some impact on people who initially did not undertake a new occupation. A few people who participated in study trips or training but did not receive the project funds, or non-participants were motivated to invest their own money on a new occupation. A few people raised hogs and fish. Among those who raised fish was the deputy village head. He raised catfish in a small fish pond made from cement blocks. He invested 700 baht to buy baby fish and feed, and earned about 5,000 baht when he sold the fish two-and-a-half months later.

The project had a side effect on non-participants as well. One person began to raise Russian catfish in early 1992 when he saw others in the village raise fish. Similarly, he earned about 5,000-6,000 baht every three months. The son-in-law of the deputy head developed a mixed farm comprising of longon and lychee trees, hogs, chicken, and three fish ponds. His farm was very productive. The fish alone, if caught, would earn him about 30,000 baht.

Another non-participant raised partridges in September 1992. He started with 100 young partridges, by following instructions in the manual. "It is very good. Every morning I get about 80 eggs and sell them in the village market. Right now some people are coming to see the birds, and they ask how I raise the birds." In December, he bought 60 more partridges and planned to raise more in the future, admitting that it was very profitable.

Justifying the project objective in the area of income generation, the NFE coordinator was pleased with the results.

> I consider this project very successful. After we took the people to see what other people do in many places, the people wanted to try the occupation themselves. We sent them to the place where they could be trained. When they came back they really assumed a new occupation. It can be said that this project has created new occupations in the village. Some villagers who were trained could later be resource persons to teach people in other villages.

She contended that the success of the project was indicated by the fact that the participants had gained additional income, and could utilize their free time economically and effectively after harvest. Considering the village as a whole, however, the economic effect was of limited scope. Only a small group of people could benefit from the project economically. And, some occupations introduced were less profitable.

The project could have had a greater economic impact on the community if it had involved a greater number of people, particularly the marginalized group. Concurrently, if the allocation of project funds was determined by participants, and given to those who were truly in need, the poor could have participated and benefited more. Since the project tended to operate on an individual basis, and a few families got revolving funds in more than one occupation, the economic impact on the community as a whole was quite limited.

Social Effects

The social effect of participation in this project was not clear and hard to observe. Since the project did not involve the whole community in its activities, it was irrational to claim that the project resulted in more social unity or integration. Prior to the project, there was a high degree of contact and socialization among people in the community. An

NFE worker who had been to the village prior to and after the project contended:

> Natural groups existed even before the project, such as women making fishnets during the day time, or people talking in groups in the evening. So the cooperation or help between or among the people after the project started is not clear, as this character existed before the project.

The introduction of the project presented no clear evidence regarding this aspect. However, one dimension that could be seen as a result of the project was the cooperation level among group members and people who undertook the same occupations. At the initial stage, the project emphasized group work among group members. *Saa* papermaking, in particular, involved several stages where group members had to work together and help each other. To some extent, it created a bond among the group members. Each member of the papermaking group invested their own money equally and shared the work and products. When they decided whether to cease or continue making paper, all the group members were consulted.

In the area of mushroom growing, people visited each other's houses to look at the produce and learn some techniques from one another. One villager explained, "Those who know how to grow mushrooms teach others. They share the techniques they learned from their own experience." Those who did not participate in the activities often visited and observed their neighbours who undertook the occupation. "The products, particularly mushrooms, fish, and partridge eggs are sold among ourselves. The price for us is not very high."

In occupations that people did individually, the aspect of cooperation was not observable. However, within a family, the participation of the wife meant she also received support from her husband. On the other hand, if the husband participated in activities, such as fish raising or mushroom growing, the wife often helped him sell the produce at the village market. Undertaking a new occupation meant that both the husband

and wife had to work harder. With the increased economic impetus, the family were willing to help or participate. By and large, the undertaking of a new occupation brought about the improvement of husband and wife relationships, including relationships with the parents of a spouse.

However, there was a negative social effect as well. In October 1992, PNFEC was assigned by the province to produce paper roses for an AIDS campaign. Since a number of people in Salt Lick Village were trained to make paper flowers, the former NFE coordinator contacted the chair of the flower making group to make 10,000 roses. People would be paid 1.50 baht a piece. In the beginning, the chair of the flower making group and her two friends did not let other women join the production. Later, they could not finish the flowers on time because the husband of the chairperson had an accident and passed away. Therefore, they hired other women in the village to make flowers by providing them with raw materials and paying them .50 baht a piece. One woman did not join in making roses saying that it was unfair to pay them just a quarter of the price they were supposed to get. This kind of practice, to some extent, damaged their working relationship.

Unfortunately, the former NFE coordinator was not aware of this situation. She thought it could help housewives in Salt Lick Village to earn some money because many of them had learned to make paper flowers. She did not realize that the group leader and her friends would use the opportunity to their personal advantage. Therefore, it may be erroneous for a development worker to contact a local leader or a group leader and rely on them to equally distribute the benefit to all people in the community. Similar to this project's funds, and many other development projects, the benefits often fell into the hands of those who had the power to make a decision.

Personal Development

The effect of participation in the SNOTRE project on each individual was varied. Some project participants acquired new occupational skills. Through their involvement with the project, some people broadened their perspectives about the way other people developed their professions. A few people were skillful enough to become resource persons in the occupation they undertook. To some extent, the project had some influence on the risk-taking behaviour of some people. As the NFE teacher observed:

> The people are now attentive to occupational development and willing to try new occupations. At one time, people would not take a risk at all. Now some are willing to risk, and a few people have tried a new occupation themselves. Their perception was that it was not just the individuals that took risks, but PNFEC as well.

Since PNFEC was willing to risk providing them with loans, they thought it was worth trying a new occupation. When they actually started a new occupation, some invested their own money, sometimes, even more than the amount they received from PNFEC. One NFE worker explained that provision of a revolving fund was a "motivation to make them realize that PNFEC was willing to take a risk with them." However, the risk taking depended on the level of investment, and tended to be among those who could afford to do so. While a few well-off farmers took risks raising fish or hogs which needed high investment, poor farmers could risk only occupations that required little investment, such as mushroom growing or partridge raising.

There were also moderate changes in their work habits. In the past, people burned rice straw after the harvest. Once the project was introduced, some individuals kept the straw for mushroom growing. When people made something, they normally waited for merchants to come and buy what they produced. This phenomenon remained unchanged for those making fishnets and bamboo fishtraps. For new occupations, such as paper flower making, paper wreath making, and mushroom growing, people learned to take their products and sell them in other places. When mushrooms were plentiful, some took the produce to the city. Similarly, those who made paper flowers and wreaths went to shops in the city. These activities were seldom tried by the people in the past.

Another aspect might be the people's view of development. A comparison between this project and projects in the past made some people more critical about development workers. One participant compared the approaches:

> They are not the same. In other projects, officials did not really pay attention to the people. They came just a short time, and then they were gone. They didn't care whether people were able to do something or not. PNFEC really followed up on their activities. They followed the activities for two years. If people really paid attention, they could really undertake a supplementary occupation.

Their critical view about development projects made some people doubt the development workers and wonder whether they worked for the people, or just themselves. Even in the SNOTRE project, the NFE workers were viewed suspiciously by some participants. One women questioned the sincerity of the NFE workers:

> Now I feel that they come to promote us as a part of their duty. While making cement blocks and other things, they would take some pictures. I think we are like their assistants - to help them work. Taking photos is kind of showing their work. We don't get anything, but they have something to show for their work.

Although people were not organized in the group process for critical analysis, some had become more critical resulting from prevalent perception of unfairness. Some persons, who did not receive funds from the project, were also critical. They said that in the future, if there is a new project providing funds like this in the village, other people must get funds first, not the village head and his relatives.

Political Effects

The implementation of the SNOTRE project in Salt Lick Village created both positive and negative political consequences. Positively, the village head showed his people that he was capable of drawing development activities to the community. People in other villages, particularly in Matrix Village, would like to have had the project in their community. It made other village leaders think that the VH of Salt Lick Village was very capable since he attracted the SNOTRE project to his village.

From the perspectives of the officials, particularly those from NRNFEC and PNFEC, they thought that the VH was active and attentive to village matters (NRNFEC, 1990, CNFEC, 1991). Since the village leader was viewed by NFE workers as active and attentive, he was often approached and consulted by NFE workers. Consequently, he had a major role in project activities, as well as input regarding the distribution of project funds. That is, the project had an impact on the village power structure by indirectly increasing the political power of the local leaders, and tying them more tightly to the state (Hirsch, 1989; Montgomery, 1988; Rigg, 1991; Midgley et al, 1986).

The view of project participants, especially those who received the funds, was similar. They viewed the VH as active and attentive to the well-being of villagers. However, most people, excluding the VH's relatives, held the oppositive view. They regarded the VH as inactive and not attentive to development activities. They argued that the VH was active only in front of the officials. When they were gone, he never paid attention to the well-being of the villagers.

An unexpected political consequence of the project was due to the unfair allocation of project funds. The procedure resulted in dissatisfaction among people who did not receive the funds. As mentioned earlier, funds were allocated in favor of the VH's relatives and well-off farmers. One of the fund recipient was a resident of Matrix Village. According to the regulations, he was not eligible to receive funds. The reason he received the fund was that when the fish-raising group proposed the project to PNFEC, the proposal was on behalf of the group, with the names of the group leader and members. The PNFEC did not know whether there was someone from another village. In general, they trusted the proposal endorsed by the village committee. The NFE workers found out about this later after the fund had already been allocated.

There were some people who actually raised fish but did not get funded. One person expressed discontentment that, "The one who works does not get funds, the one who gets funds does not work", referring to the village *pawliang* who stopped raising fish soon afterward. There were some people who had their names on the waiting list and would have liked to get funds. One person stated with disappointment, "Funds were given to those who did not actually need them."

A feeling of dissatisfaction from the allocation of project funds in particular, resulted in some camouflage antagonism. Due to the characteristic of *krengjai* and the culture where the superior and elderly are treated with respect, dissatisfaction tended to be expressed covertly and indirectly (Meesook and Philips, 1977; Molder, 1973; Rubin, 1974). In the past, people participated well in village activities. Now fewer people participated, especially in activities organized by the village head. They thought that the VH was the one who took advantage of project funds to reward his relatives and other members of the local elite.

The VH seemed to be aware of this discontent, so he seldom called a meeting. If he had to, he would request the gathering through the village loudspeaker mentioning that people needed to cooperate with the officials. He admitted that in the past people were very cooperative. Recently he noticed that people were less cooperative. He had to request people to participate in village activities, including meetings with government officials.

The consequence of the dissatisfaction regarding the unfair distribution of project funds led to strong support of the proposal to separate Salt Lick Village into two smaller villages (the historical background of this matter is discussed in Chapter 5). At the beginning, the matter was not taken seriously. Recently, a new *Tambon* was set up from a few nearby villages. This news made the people in Salt Lick Village think seriously about splitting the village. They thought about the possibility that if their village and Matrix Village split into four smaller villages, they could gain *Tambon* status as well. This initial idea, together with the dissatisfaction of the VH's administration drove the people to accelerate village separation.

The VH personally did not agree with the proposal, claiming that it could lead to antagonism between the new villages. He referred to the conflict between Salt Lick and Matrix villages as a result of the village separation. People argued that it was not the people, but the VHs of the two villages that could not get along. They continued to urge a split. All householders signed their names to a petition in 1991, and again in 1992. Currently, the issue has passed the *Tambon* council, and has been proposed to the district office for consideration. At the time of this writing, the result is still unknown.

Although the proposal for village separation was discussed some time prior to the SNOTRE project, it can not be denied that the dissatisfaction from the perceived unfairness of fund allocation, to some extent, accelerated the political will regarding village separation. The evidence regarding the political effect, particularly in terms of covert boycotting activities organized by the VH, and the strong support for village separation, suggest that the status quo and the power base of the VH had been challenged. Village separation would entail a free election of an active and development-oriented person to be the VH in the new village. It would reduce the power of the VH by half. It would also indirectly force the current VH of Salt Lick Village to pay more attention to village development. If not, he could be forced to resign. Since the VH himself perceived this possibility, he did not support separation at all.

Discussion and Analysis

The introduction of the SNOTRE project in Salt Lick Village had several effects. Economically, the project participants who undertook new occupations, except for *saa* papermaking which was less profitable, gained additional income. However, the lack of emphasis on the poor resulted in project activities, particularly project funds, being concentrated on the well-off group. Without participation of the poor, the majority, in occupational undertaking, the economic effect was narrowly limited. At the time of this study, about only 30 persons were involved in one or another activity. A few people actually remained in their chosen occupations. Others either ceased the occupation or undertook the occupation occasionally after harvest. This proportion is minimal considering there were 203 households in the village.

The social effect of project participation was not notable. In terms of gender development, a number of women were involved in several occupations. In fact, the number of women participating in study trips and occupational undertaking was greater than men (see also in Table 11). Had the occupations introduced to women been profitable, their economic roles could have been significant. There was some degree of cooperation among people who undertook the same occupation, as part of their group work. Regarding the cooperation of people in the village as a whole, the effect was not clear since people usually cooperated and helped each other prior to the introduction of the project in the community.

Personally, those who were involved in some of the activities broadened their occupational perspectives, experiences, and skills. Some people were willing to risk undertaking a new occupation. The two-year operation period enabled people to compare this project with development activities in the past. Several activities and benefits that favoured local leaders and the economically well-off made some people critical about the work of NFE workers. If people were mobilized and empowered in the decision-making process, this aspect might have been promising.

The political effect of the project was rather unexpected. Although this project did not adhere to authentic participation, the observation over time of the unfair distribution of benefits to a particular group of people enabled some people to be aware of their disadvantaged situation. Initially, people felt that the project was going to help people, particular the poor. In actual fact, NFE workers dealt mostly with the village leaders. When people learned that many of the VH's relatives, and local elites benefited from project funds, they began to question the necessity for these people to receive funds. The poor were informed that those who had their names on the waiting list would get funds later. They were willing to wait for some time. However, when it became clear to them that the funds would never be given to them, they gradually became aware of their situation. Hence, some people became more critical of their leaders and the NFE workers.

Without the process of conscientization, how could the people be aware of their disadvantaged situation? Montgomery (1988) contends:

> What sometimes happens when political interest swings away from equity goals is that such programs produce individual benefits that can move people from expecting supply-based handouts to demanding services to which they feel entitled. These demand can take on a threatening tone...Hostilities rise when disadvantaged citizens are encouraged to articulate their needs, and thereafter they participate in collective efforts to satisfy them (p.9).

In the case of the SNOTRE project, similarly, people began to demonstrate their discontent implicitly by avoiding or paying less attention to village meetings, and activities organized by the village head. They showed their support for village separation, and began to demand that they should be the first group to benefit in future development activities. If the people had been empowered in the decision-making process, the effect on empowerment and conscientization could have been instrumental.

Using income-generating objectives, the project might seem moderately successful. However, other aspects needed to be considered, such as the potential to reach target groups, the participation of people, and self-dependence in occupational development. These criteria suggested that the project had not yet achieved these objectives.

In terms of people's participation in the project, the notion was vaguely used and largely coopted. There was participation only in the sense of people's involvement in project activities, but not in the decision-making process. In reality, people had a passive role and project activities were mainly orchestrated by NFE workers and the village headman. In sum, the participation seemed to merely benefits the well-off and strengthen the power of the local elite (Pearse and Stiefel, 1979; Dusseldorp, 1981; Montgomery, 1988; Rabibhadana, 1986; Turton, 1987; Ghai, 1988).

The actual practice of people's participation did not follow the participatory approach they claimed to adopt. An analysis suggests that the lack of understanding of the approach they adopted; the lack of supervision regarding implementation strategy; the desire for quick results; and the need for support from local leaders led to the implementation of the project favouring local leaders and the elite. Officials at all levels seemed concerned about end results rather than the means adopted.

There are some additional explanations. First, according to the village administration, a decision regarding public activities had to be made by the village committee. From a practical point of view, the village head was the one to decide what to do regarding development in the village. Therefore, the village head was a key decision-maker. Most development workers conducting development activities in the village, including NFE workers in the SNOTRE project, needed to seek the support of the village head. Without his support, their work in the village would be very difficult (Rigg, 1991, p.203).

Secondly, according to the line of control, government officials were supposed to contact the VH. Therefore, it was practical that they approached the VH. Although informal contact could be effective, the project relied heavily on the formal leader, and informal leaders were not seriously sought.

Thirdly, the NFE workers were new to the village and did not know the people personally. They could not identify who should be fund recipients. Although the NFE teacher lived in the village and knew the people to some extent, PNFEC did not adequately make use of her knowledge in this aspect. She did not have much of a role in the decision-making process. The actual decision was made by PNFEC based on the recommendation of the village head.

Finally, by working with the village head, they could at least, find someone who had authority in the village to assist them. If something went wrong, they would still have someone with whom to discuss the situation. Consequently, this had led to the benefits being left in the hands of a few local elite, whereas the needy poor hardly benefited from the implementation of the project and the notion of people's participation.

Participation and Development Paradigm

As discussed in Chapter One, Thailand's approach to development has followed the modernization paradigm since the 1960s. Strategies towards rural development, such as community development, basic needs strategy, and people's participation have been fundamentally adopted from the West (Heim et al, 1986; Mingmaneenakin, 1989; Rigg, 1991). Although there are two contrasting paradigms about the concept of people's participation, the one mostly adopted by development agencies in Thailand has been the liberal concept of participation (Hongvivatana, 1984).

When the SNOTRE project was introduced, it was perceived as a new and promising vocational training approach. The project not only provided revolving funds, but operated at the grass-roots level where people's participation was encouraged and considered a key strategy for the success of the program. This was ideally a departure from previous vocational training programs where people were rarely involved in the identification of their basic training needs. The project was developed as a complete package including personnel training and operational strategies. A number of NFE workers responsible for the project were trained in both theoretical and practical aspects regarding project operation.

At the practical level, the stress was put on the participation of people in SNOTRE activities. However, no working definition of people's participation was articulated, or developed as a framework for NFE workers who organized project activities. While the emphasis was on participation, the implementation was left to each NFE worker to determine what kind of participation would take place, and how it would occur. Since there were growing ambiguities in the concept of participation (Ghai, 1988), and there was no clarification of the term in the SNOTRE project, there were good reasons to suspect that the project workers might have, in their practice, operationalized it in idiosyncratic and inconsistent fashion. The findings of this study strongly suggest that this is precisely what in fact happened. Each person interpreted people's participation using his or her own understanding of it. This pitfall, of course, led to an adoption a view of participation, in which a high degree of decision-making by participants was rarely stressed. This view of participation manifested itself in the implementation process and was continually reinforced by the "top-down" administrative structure of the project for which a large number of functionaries enjoy the sole responsibility.

One NFE worker expressed her understanding about people's participation thus; "It is the involvement of people in the activities we introduce to them." Another said, "Any kind of activity that people participate in thinking and working." One local leader offered his idea about participation: "In organizing development activities, we have to get the people involved. But it is not necessary that all have to come. If a person doesn't want to come, he doesn't have to." A deputy village head, commenting on participation in the project, offered a somewhat different understanding:

> People have to be involved in investment sharing so that they do not think that it belongs to the government. They have to feel they are the owners. They have to buy materials by themselves, and share the investment money from the activities.

The same person further explained what he meant by participation was that people had to share investment costs to undertake a new occupation; share labour and work; have a key role; and they should be able to work by themselves either from their own experiences or from observation, and then adopt the method to their own situation. All these views of NFE workers and local leaders never mentioned how participants could organize themselves to work collectively, and they never stressed the role of participants in the decision-making process.

The lack of a precise working definition led to the adoption of diffuse concepts and approaches. It should be mentioned that since the first economic development plan, Thailand has favoured the modernization paradigm of development. In the fifth NESD plan, people's participation was emphasized in the area of development activities. Nonetheless, no details were articulated about what was really meant by participation. The lack of a conceptual framework and precise definition, meant that the organization which adopted the notion normally interpreted the term according to its own perception and understanding. It could be either the liberal or radical view of participation, depending on the leaning of the particular development worker.

Since Thailand had adopted the modernization paradigm, government officials tended to interpret the term participation according to the liberal view. By and large, participation, in the Thai sense is referred to in official discourse as *kaan khao maa mii suan ruam*, or literally to come in and take part (Hirsch, 1989, p.51). The application of people's participation in the SNOTRE project, similarly, stressed only involvement in terms of "come in and take part." Throughout the implementation process, NFE workers never attempted to involve people in decision-making activities. The people themselves did not perceive their role as being participants in the decision-making process, either. Their senses of participation was expressed by a participant:

> It means they 'come and help us.' And, if we know that they are coming to help us, we have to support them by joining the activities. When they come to visit us, or suggest that we do something, we have to really do it.

In the people's view, participation is "to join the activity and cooperate." Both NFE workers and people viewed participation as taking part in the activity and cooperating with development workers. While NFE workers did not allow people to have a decisive role in development activities, the people themselves did not realize that they should have a role in the decision-making process. Therefore, the decision-making power remained with the NFE workers and village head. After the decision was made, and the disadvantaged found that a specific group benefited from the project, they became frustrated and disempowered. Later, they were reluctant to participate, feeling that they could be taken advantage of.

An examination of the involvement of villagers in the SNOTRE project reveals that the majority of the participants were the better-off families, and the fund recipients were local leaders and the local elite. No solid effort was made to include the marginalized poor in the project activities. The findings of this study lead to an inescapable conclusion that the project did not lead to societal change, but unintentionally reinforced the existing structure of inequality and strengthened those, the already privileged, the powerful. This corresponds with the radical criticism of the liberal view of participation, or rather of its substantive content (Dusseldorp, 1981; Pearse and Stiefel, 1979; Turton, 1987; Heim et al, 1986).

Summary

This chapter presents findings regarding what group of people actually participated and benefited from the project; the decision-making process; reasons for participation, non-participation, and withdrawal; and the effects of participation in the project. The findings disclose that the main beneficiaries of the project were the moderate and better-off families. Most of the beneficiaries were moderately well-off farmers, and relatives of the village head or his wife.

It also finds that the NFE workers and, to a lesser extent, the local leaders were the real decision-makers regarding project activities. Participants of the project played only a minimal role in the participatory process. The economic factor was mentioned by most participants as a reason for their participation in the project activities. Other factors were project-related factors, relationships with NFE workers, and social factors. Those who did not participate specified economic constraint as the main reason, and some mentioned personal reasons. Some who initially participated and later withdrew from the program referred to the nonprofitability of the occupation and the unfair administration and treatment of those in the project.

In terms of effect, the project generated moderate additional income for some participants, but some occupations were not profitable. The social effect regarding unity and cooperation among people in the village was minimal and unclear. The project, however, induced some people to be willing to take risks by undertaking a new occupation. Some people became critical of the development project introduced to the village. The dissatisfaction from the allocation of project funds, to some extent, led to a political challenge of the power base. The findings regarding who actually participated and benefited from the notion of participation suggest that the implementation of the concept was in line with the liberal view of participation, and reflects the modernization paradigm Thailand has adopted as its national development model for decades.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY, DISCUSSION, IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary

This study was undertaken to examine the implementation of the notion of people's participation in a rural development project. Based on the review of literature on people's participation, this study categorizes the concept into two competing paradigms: the liberal and the radical views of participation.

The liberal paradigm contends that the participation of rural people in a development activity would lead to sustainable development and general well-being. The proponents of this view are international development organizations, such as the United Nations (1975), the World Bank (1975), many bilateral official aid agencies, and scholars affiliated with these organizations. These scholars and organizations had a considerable role in encouraging Third World countries to adopt the notion of people's participation into practice. Consequently, most rural development projects in the Third World included the concept of people's participation in their project implementation.

The radical or social transformation paradigm, on the contrary, argues that the notion of people's participation in the liberal paradigm is often used as a means to coopt people, or to provide the state with legitimacy of its control over rural people. The application of the principle of people's participation hardly benefits disadvantaged people, except local leaders and the elite. Proponents of this view are Pearse and Stiefel (1979), Freire (1970, 1972), Dusseldorp (1981), Hirsch (1989), and Turton (1987). The radical paradigm argues that authentic participation can take place only when the marginalized actually have a control over the decision-making process. If this occurs, participation can lead to conscientization and empowerment of the disadvantaged, which eventually can lead to a change in power structure. They doubt such conscientization and social transformation is likely to happen, however, when participation is often manipulated by state bureaucrats and local power holders for their own benefits (Hirsch, 1989; Dusseldorp, 1981). A comparison of these two views is summarized in Table 1, in Chapter 2.

Research findings regarding the effect of participation have been controversial. Some studies reveal that people's participation in development activities contribute to the success of development projects, and lead to overall development and improvement of living conditions (Hafner, 1987; Useem et al., 1988). Other studies reveal opposite results (Hirsch, 1989; Turton, 1987). It is not yet clear which paradigm provides a sounder understanding of the nature of people's participation and the concrete form it takes when adopted by state agencies as part of the rural development programs. Therefore, this study was undertaken to examine people's participation in practice, and to see which paradigm can better explain the outcomes of an individual's participation.

This study examines people's participation in the SNOTRE project, a vocational training project, conducted in northern Thailand. This project was proposed as a new vocational approach to tackle rural poverty and unemployment. In the past, vocational training projects of DNFE's did not actually respond to the needs of local people. This project aimed to serve the needs of people through the adoption of local-planning approach, and people's participation in project activities. The project goal was to provide rural farmers with technical skills so that they could use their new skills to generate additional income, or reduce household expenses.

To conduct this research, the study adopted a qualitative approach to data collection. The SNOTRE project in Chiangrai, Thailand, was chosen as a case study to examine the specific application of the notion of people's participation. The main focus of this study was to discover which group of people participated, and actually benefited from the SNOTRE project, why they participated or did not participate, what were the effects of participation in the project, and which paradigm of people's participation best reflected participation in the SNOTRE project.

The data regarding these research questions were collected through document analysis, unstructured interviews, and participant observation. Document analysis was used to describe the nature of the project, its activities, underlying assumptions, and the practical application of people's participation. It was also used for analysis of the paradigm of development reflected by the work of officials in the SNOTRE project. Unstructured interviews were employed to identify the involvement of people in the project and their role in the decision-making process, their reasons for participation or non-participation, how people viewed the project, the socio-economic, and political outcomes of people's participation in the SNOTRE project. Participant observation was employed in the study to examine people's participation in development activities, its impact on cultural and social life; roles of villagers and leaders in development activities; and, interaction among villagers and development workers. Understanding these aspects is helpful in the analysis and interpretation of the SNOTRE project as rural development and of people's role in it.

The researcher spent seven months, from July 1992 to January 1993, collecting data in a northern village, Thailand, where the SNOTRE project was implemented. Informants of the study were NFE workers at the regional and provincial NFE centers, and 52 individuals who were residents of Salt Lick Village. Among the latter group, 32 were participants, and 20 were non-participants. Selection of the informants was done through a snowball technique, and some informants were randomly selected from groups of villagers and local leaders.

The two paradigms of participation provide a theoretical framework for the study, analysis, and interpretation of the findings.

Major Findings

To examine the issues of people's participation and its effects, the study sets forth seven research questions. With regard to the analysis of project documents, interviews, and participant observation, the findings of the study are summarized, according to each research question.

1) What are the underlying assumptions in utilizing people's participation in project activities?

The SNOTRE project was designed as a new vocational training approach resulting from the failure of past vocational courses which did not serve the needs of rural people. Since vocational training in the past was usually offered in PNFEC, rural people could hardly participate in the training. Some who managed to participate could not actually apply their new skills to daily life or work. Taking note of various pitfalls of previous vocational training programs, the SNOTRE project was proposed as a new approach to reach rural farmers. The main target groups were rural poor, particularly women and unemployed adults.

The underlying assumption of the SNOTRE project was that occupational training can be successful and sustained if project activities are: (1) geared towards income-generation or reduction of family expenses, (2) based on the needs of the people, (3) able to encourage people's participation in project activities, (4) conducted in the local village, (5) well-integrated with technical and management skills, and (6) able to provide revolving funds for people's initial investment. The strategies to achieve its goals were that the project had to: respond to the needs of people and respect their condition; place emphasis on human resource development rather than training; and involve people and the community through participation. This set of strategies and underlying assumptions seems congruent with the liberal paradigm which tends to assume that if everything is provided to rural people, they would come and participate. In reality, it is not always true. The project did not seem to recognize social class and inequality in access to development of rural people, which often obstruct their participation.

2) What types of program activities were conducted in the target village, and what were the various stages used to implement the project?

In this new vocational training scheme, two main aspects, namely personnel and vocational training, were developed simultaneously. The project personnel were trained in areas pertaining to project planning and implementation. The project set up vocational and advisory committees at different levels to facilitate the work of the project. Experts in project planning and curriculum development, and vocational consultants at the local level were hired to ensure that the project could provide technical support to both NFE staff workers and the target group.

The main implementation stage of the project included conducting a needs assessment, activity planning, vocational-study trips, vocational training, occupational undertaking, and fund allocation. The project began with a needs assessment to find out the kinds of occupations that interested people. Vocational information and study trips were conducted to expose people to other occupations, in which they were interested. Several vocational training courses were offered to equip people with the necessary skills so that they could undertake new occupations on their own. The occupations promoted in this project were: straw- and *nangrom* mushroom growing, *saa* papermaking, hog, fish and chicken raising, paper-flower making, kitchen gardening, clothes sewing, clay pot making, stitching, and cement block making. Revolving funds were also provided for people to invest in a new occupation. After the implementation of the project, some people continued these supplementary occupations. The occupations that yielded positive results were mushroom growing, hog and fish raising.

Although the SNOTRE project adopted the "micro-planning" approach for project planning, most of the planning activities took place in the NRNFEC and PNFEC offices. The people were basically involved in providing data for NFE workers. Key activities, such as vocational-study trips and training were outlined at the PNFEC, and implemented in the village. Although the project took into account some data and recommendation of village, the nature of project planning was mainly initiated from above.

3) What group of people actually benefited from the notion of people's participation employed by the project, and from the project's activities?

When the project was implemented, the NFE workers who organized the project activities were very concerned about the results of the project. They usually contacted the local leaders and better-off families. The findings reveal that participants of the SNOTRE project in Chiangrai, by and large, were people from moderate to well-off families. Since poor farmers and labourers had to work daily to earn a living, only a few of them participated in the project activities. Normally, they participated in the occupational trips and vocational training. The majority of the fund recipients were village leaders and local elite. Among them were the village head, his wife, some of his close relatives, and some middle-income families.

The findings regarding who benefits in this project are echoed by several critics, particularly those in the radical paradigm, that development activities rarely benefit the needy poor (Pearse and Stiefel, 1979; Turton, 1987; Hirsch, 1989; Dusseldorp, 1981). Attempts were not made seriously to include the poor in SNOTRE activities. Hence, the local leaders and elites participated and benefited more from the SNOTRE project activities.It reflects the liberal concept of participation which tends to overlook the accessibility of different social group in development activities.

4) In what kind of activities do people participate, and to what extent do they participate in the decision-making process?

Although the project placed an emphasis on people's participation, the actual implementation did not really involve people, especially at the decision making level. The findings reveal that the NFE workers tended to contact local leaders, particularly the village head. To some extent, people were involved in suggesting which occupations, related work and activities they were interested in visiting and learning about. However, most of the activities were planned by NFE workers. The decision making regarding what would be done and how to do it were mostly made by the NFE workers, and the village head. It was found that people did not actually have a decisive role in the decision-making process or control over the direction of the project.

The findings in this aspect suggest that participation was implemented according to individual interpretation. Although people were encouraged to be involved in project activities, participation was regarded merely in the sense of "joining and cooperating." This type of participation, reflecting the liberal concept, was strongly criticized by Hirsch (1989), and regarded by Arnstein (1968) as merely "placation", or at best, "consultation." According to the radical paradigm, authentic participation takes place only when the participants have a full control over the decision-making process. In the SNOTRE project, the main decision makers were the local leader and NFE workers. From the radical point of view, the process in SNOTRE activities cannot be regard as authentic participation.

5) What are the key factors affecting participation, or non-participation of people in the SNOTRE project activities?

Several factors were mentioned by people as affecting their participation, non-participation, and withdrawal from the project. Factors affecting participation were: (1) economic factors (expectation of additional income, need to have a supplementary occupation, and perception of profit from a new occupation); (2) project-related factors (variety of activities, revolving funds, provision of consultants, continual support and follow-up); (3) relationship between people and development workers (positive perception of NFE workers and gaining of trust, their friendly characteristics, and frequent visits by NFE workers); and (4) social factors (persuasion from a friend or neighbour, good relationship with other people, and friendship with NFE workers).

Reasons for non-participation in the project were: economic constraint (need to work to earn some money, no foreseen economic potential); and a variety of personal factors (having something else to do, a relative already participated, not sure about the result, unaware of the activity, no land space in the housing area, negative past experience with development activities, and an age constraint). Those who initially participated and later withdrew gave their reasons as: low profitability of the occupation; lack of investment money; and feeling of being treated unfairly by NFE workers and the local leaders.

The SNOTRE project, operated in the form of action research, could have used the ongoing-analysis data regarding non-participation and dropout of people to adjust its activities and direction. Since project staff workers were aware that the poor seldom participate, they could have examined the causes and tried to get this group of people involved. For instance, some poor farmers did not participate because of the economic constraint. They could have directed the project loans towards this group of people. It seems that the project did not make use of the data adequately regarding the non-participation of the poor to adjust the direction of the project. Instead, the NFE workers had the view that the participation of the wealthy would be a good sample for the poor to participate later. This view, however, led to an unconcern in getting the poor involved in project activities at the initial stage.

6) What are the social, economic and political consequences of people's participation in the SNOTRE project?

Regarding the effect of participation, the findings reveal that people's participation in the project led to economic, social, personal, and political consequences. Economically, those who participated in fish raising, hog raising, and mushroom growing were able to generate some additional income. However, the *saa* papermaking was less profitable due to the lack of raw materials and minimal experience. The analysis suggests that the effect was still in a narrow scope compared to the total households in the community. That is, only about 15% of the total 203 households economically benefitted from participating in project activities. In addition, the economic effect tended to favor the well-off farmers since they not only could afford to invest with their own money, but also received project funds.

Socially, the effect was not clear whether the project increased unity or cooperation among people in the village. The less significant effect on cooperation was due to the lack of organized cooperative economic activity. Although the project emphasized group activity, in reality, the group was organized only in name rather than actual cooperation.

Personally, participation in the project seemed to lead to some level of risk-taking behavior, and a reduction of the practice of rice-straw burning after the harvest. This risk-taking behavior, however, was still had a narrow scope and limited to those who could afford to take risk, financially. Project participants had an opportunity to broaden their occupational perspectives and vocational skills. Involvement in development activities made participants able to compare the work of these NFE workers with past development efforts, and be more analytical about their work. The observation over time of unfair distribution of project loans also created critical awareness among project non-participants to be aware of their disadvantaged condition.

Politically, the village head was perceived by NFE workers as active and attentive to village development. This perception led to the strengthening of the tie between development workers and the village power holders. It also helped increase the political power of local leaders. However, the unfair distribution of benefits, especially project funds, led to dissatisfaction among villagers and hence resulted in "camouflaged" antagonism towards the power holders. People's dissatisfaction was expressed by their less cooperation in village activities and monthly meetings, as well as their support for an establishment of a new village. People in the area where the new village was designated, in particular, showed strong support for separation (see detailed discussion and analysis of political effects in Chapter 6).

7) What model of development does this project reflect?

Despite the stress on people's participation in its activities, the SNOTRE project did not develop a clearer working definition of the concept. The notion of participation was implemented according to the understanding of the NFE coordinator who was responsible for the operation of the project. An examination of project activities and beneficiaries reveals that the practice of participation in this project was in line with the liberal view of participation. The notion of participation was used mostly at the rhetorical level. People did not have a decisive role in the participatory process. Those who participated more were the local leaders and well-off farmers. The findings of this study correspond with the radical criticism of the liberal view of participation which indicates that the liberal approach benefits local elites and power holders and almost entirely excludes the disadvantaged.

In practice, this project was slightly different from past development projects. To some extent, the SNOTRE project attempted to involve people in project activities in the needs assessment and implementation. This attempt, however, did not go much beyond what was done in the past. An interesting effect of the project was the realization by some poor farmers, who experienced the unfairness regarding the allocation of project funds, that they were not treated fairly. This led some people to be critical of development activities. Although no process of empowerment was conducted, some people were conscientized of their being disadvantaged, and began to demand, as they felt entitled, that in the future they should be the ones to get benefits from development project first. The biased allocation of project funds also accelerated the desire for village separation. The discontent of people in this village corresponds to what Montgomery (1988, p.9) contends that "hostilities rise when the disadvantaged citizens are encouraged to articulate their needs they feel entitled." This effect, albeit unintended, had challenged the power of the status holder. In other aspects, the introduction of people's participation did not really benefit the disadvantaged. The people who benefited most from the project were still the well-off. That is, the application of people's participation in this project was in line with the liberal view of participation which, in turn, reflects the modernization paradigm of development adopted in Thailand.

Discussion

The findings of this study reveal that the outcomes of people's participation had not been favorably effective as expected. Like other development projects in Thailand, and elsewhere, the practice of people's participation is largely dependent on the understanding and interpretation of development workers. Although the notion is widely accepted in development milieu, often their understanding is broad and vague (Hirsch, 1989; Oakley and Marsden, 1984).

The adoption of people's participation in the SNOTRE project, as discussed earlier, was not able to bring about any significant change, particularly in terms of eradication of poverty and inequality. Nor was it able to adequately involve the poor, the main target group in project activities. There are several aspects that contribute to the low effectiveness of the project. At the planning level, there was a lack of clear understanding of the term "participation." Despite the stress on the importance of people's participation, the term was not clearly defined and made understandable among NFE workers. There was no attempt to formally operationalize the concept of people's participation in advance of implementation. This led to the implementation of the project according to the individual judgements of each NFE worker.

At the operational level, there was a considerable concern among NFE workers and other government officials of the outcomes of the project. The need for "quick results" led to an emphasis on the products rather than the process of participation. Similarly, those who visited the village seemed to admire the end results without awareness that project participants had problem in marketing the products. In addition, there was little evidence of an awareness among NFE workers about the structure of socio-economic inequalities in the village and its possible impact on the implementation and outcomes of the project. The project placed an emphasis on the individual and took the focus off underlying structures, which essentially obstructed the participation of the poor. In the absence of the awareness among its staff of the existence of different social groups, the project did not seriously attempt to involve the disadvantaged in project activities, especially at the stage of fund allocation. It is evident that those who actually benefitted from the project were the well-off and local leaders.

Further analysis, in the case of Thailand, suggests that there exist broad structural constraints that can limit the mobilization of people and the process of participation. The political constraint (see Chapter 1), in particular, make the adoption of the radical paradigm of development into practice highly unlikely. The paternalistic tendency of administrative officials as well as the village head to "watch over" the village populace (Hirsch, 1989, p. 51) makes it difficult to introduce radically-oriented development and change. It is not surprising to find that, in spite of a decade of promotion of people's participation in rural development, the radical concept has rarely been implemented.

Nonetheless, it cannot be denied that rural development participation needs to involve the majority, the poor, in project activities. Although the two paradigms of people's participation discussed earlier in this study have different philosophical basis, both views stress the necessity to involve the rural poor in development activities in the Third World (United Nations, 1975; Pearse and Stiefel, 1979; Cohen and Uphoff, 1977). In fact, the emergence of the concept of people's participation stemmed from a call to extend the benefits of development to the disadvantaged or "small farmers", which were substantially neglected by previous efforts (Oakley and Marsden, 1984; Chambers, 1988). It must be noted, however, that the substantive content of the concept of participation necessarily shows radical differences across the two paradigms.

Since the liberal paradigm is widely adopted in Thai rural development, one must ask, can the people's participation be implemented in such a way that the benefits of development activities actually would go to the marginalized? Alternatively, given Thailand's socio-political context, can some important elements of the radical paradigm be incorporated into officially sponsored projects which stress people's participation? Can this radical paradigm be adopted at all? Given the context of Thailand, one must expect considerable difficulty in adopting either some or all elements of the radical paradigm. In projects carried out by NGOs, however, it may be less difficult to adopt this alternative strategy. Whatever paradigm is put into practice, SNOTRE experience does offer some valuable lessons. That is, the concept of participation must be clearly defined and made understandable among development workers, at least, among those at the local level. There is also a need to operationalize the concept so that development workers are able to follow the process. A good example of taking the operationalization of the concept seriously is perhaps to be found in how the DNFE introduced "*khit-pen*" (critical thinking) concept in Thai adult education in the late 1970s (Vorapipatana, 1975; Bernard and Armstrong, 1979). The concept was operationalized and methodologies were developed according to the "*khit-pen*" philosophy. NFE teachers were trained to implement the concept in adult education classes. Had the concept not been adequately operationalized and methodologies not been developed, the project could not have achieved the success it was able to do.

Secondly, development workers have to change their attitude about rural people concerning the people's potential in development and ability to make their own decisions. They should not be regarded as merely "recipients" of development; instead they must be defined as key actors in development process. Finally, they have to assure that the benefits of development projects go to those who actually need them, the poor - the marginalized. If these aspects are taken into account, a somewhat radicalized liberal paradigm of participation can emerge and, if effectively implemented, can bring about emancipatory change.

Theoretical Implications

The SNOTRE project, although it adopted the notion of people's participation, did not substantially involve poor farmers in the decision-making process. Analysis suggests that this deficit stems from a lack of understanding of the concept of people's participation. In terms of the project design, the SNOTRE was a well-planned project which included personnel training and project implementation. NFE staff workers were trained in several aspects essential to project implementation, such as qualitative research, micro-planning, and curriculum development. One of the key strategies emphasized in the project implementation was the involvement of local people in all project activities. However, the pitfall of the implementation process partly stemmed from the lack of clarification and operationalization of the concept in actual practice. There was no common agreement among NFE workers when they referred to participation. They each formulated their own concept and implemented the notion according to their personal interpretation.

This study of participation in the SNOTRE project suggests that a theoretical framework can be an important instrument to shape the approach of the project implementation. With a framework for project implementation, it helps development workers to understand its meaning, objectives, target groups, and the process of participation. Without a theoretical framework to guide, it might end up with each individual interpreting the term differently. Ideally, theory and practice help strengthen each other. While theory can guide practice, the latter can help validate the theory or formulate a new one. Without a theoretical framework to guide the practice of people's participation in the SNOTRE project, its implementation depended mainly on each individual NFE worker.

The study of people's participation in this project has revealed that it was rooted in the liberal paradigm of participation. While the implementation followed the liberal view, the outcomes corresponded more to the arguments of the radical critique of this paradigm. Generally, when an organization claims that it adopts the notion of people's participation, it seldom states which view of participation it takes into account. Development organizations may not realize the implications of the two contrasting views of participation embedded in two competing paradigms of development and participation. Therefore, it is useful to further refine these two distinct views of participation so that a conscious choice of the view which should guide practice is made. Each paradigm has to further refine its concept, expected outcomes, and particularly operationalization of the concept into implementation stages/approaches. The liberal view has to be further refined with respect to both (1) how it can achieve; and (2) what it calls the well-being and improvement of the living conditions of people.

Similarly, advocates of the radical view have to further refine its concept and approach. This view claims that authentic participation leads to empowerment and conscientization of the marginalized, and a change in the power structure. However, authentic participation at this level rarely occurs since, as this paradigm argues, participation is often manipulated and coopted by development workers or the local elite. Therefore, the issue of authentic participation, as proposed by the radical paradigm, needs further elaboration and operationalization.

As most writers argue, people's participation is advocated with different concepts and interpretation, and often broad and vague. There is a need to further operationalize the concepts based on these two paradigms of participation. A more precise concept and theoretical framework of participation of both paradigms, would help guide development workers in applying the concept into practice. With a clear theoretical framework, be it the liberal or radical paradigm, probable outcomes of the adopted model can be more clearly outlined. Participants become aware of alleviative courses of action and their participation expands to include definition and choice of goals of rural development. In addition, it would be easy to observe which paradigm of participation is adopted in a particular development project, and to examine which paradigm actually fosters sustainable development.

Policy Implications

The experience of this project suggests that a well-planned project can be less effective if the concept and approach the project has adopted is not clear to development workers. The notion of people's participation, for instance, can be used to benefit the local elite or the disadvantaged, depending upon the paradigm of participation adopted into practice. If the concept of participation and the implementation approach are not clear to development workers, it can lead to unintended effects.

As it has been in the SNOTRE project, the implementation of participation did not really benefit the poorest group of people in the community. Mainly, the well-off participated and benefited from the project. This was due to several reasons, such as the need for quick results; the fear that poor farmers would not be able to repay project funds; the lack of supervision regarding the implementation strategy; the need for support from local leaders; and the lack of understanding of the term "people's participation." The lack of clarification of people's participation, in particular, led to decisions regarding project activities being made by NFE workers and local leaders, which subsequently resulted in an unfair distribution of the benefits and further consolidation of control over local and state resources by the already privileged members of the rural community. Such outcomes risk further alienation and disempowerment of the rural majority - outcomes quite inimical to sustainable rural development. From the experience of this project, recommendations for policy implications pertaining to the application of people's participation in NFE activities are in four circumstances: 1) for the expansion of the SNOTRE project; 2) for a project adopting the notion of people's participation; 3) for initiation of a new project; and 4) for human resource development.

1) Project expansion. Prior to the expansion of the SNOTRE project to a nation-wide level, the concept of participation needs to be defined clearly, and operational stages need to be developed. This would help NFE staff workers, who are responsible for the project expansion in each province, understand clearly how the notion should be implemented in the local community. To ensure an understanding of the operational stages of the concept, there is a need for a seminar or workshop to operationalize the concept. The seminar has to create a mutual atmosphere of discussion among NFE workers. They should not only focus on "what" to do, but "how" to create authentic participation of people in the project activities. NFE workers have to understand clearly the meaning of participation, the concept of empowerment, and how the concept can be put into practice. Without this foundation, the application of people's participation to development activities can be manipulated to serve a particular group of people, or provide lip-service to the ideal of participation.

2) Adoption of the notion of people's participation. Any development project which applies the notion of people's participation to its work has to place an emphasis on the quality of participation, particularly the role of people in the decision-making process, rather than the quantity of participation. Although project administrators are

under considerable pressure from the top to produce quick "positive" results, more time should be given to the process involving people at the grass-roots level. A quick result, albeit desirable for administrators, does not last long. It should not be emphasized. This is to prevent the manipulation of project activities for a "cosmetic" showcase. Development workers responsible for the project applying the notion of people's participation have to ensure that development activities will actually benefit the intended target group. In addition, a genuine effort has to be made to guarantee that those who have power do not manipulate the project activities to their own benefit. Success of people's participation can ultimately be gauged by the extent to which it makes more difficult, and prevents the manipulation of project activities by the powerful to their own advantage. Securing NGOs' approach of participation in both the planning and implementation process of such projects may be desirable as well as necessary to ensure that the poor become the primary beneficiaries.

3) A new project. In the future, when a new project is designed, it is essential that the project strategy and approach, be it people's participation, self-help strategy, *wattanadham chumchon*, or indigenous wisdom, has to be made clear to the project staff. There is a need for an intensive training for staff workers to enable them to understand clearly the project philosophy, strategy, and methodology. In addition, it has to be made clear to development workers that poverty and social inequality are rooted in the social structure. Providing technical skills and capital investment and working with well-off farmers, without recognition of the existence of the disparities, the worker would simply help perpetuate the status quo. Their training should be expanded to include an understanding of village social structure and pattern of inequalities so that development workers are aware of the existing social conditions. The workers' understanding of project philosophy, strategies, and community social structure would, to some extent, help them

properly to focus their work on the needy poor who are the main target of development activities.

When the project is implemented, any development worker who has been trained should be able to apply the concept and methodology to the work. Although the personal character of a development worker is one of the factors influencing the success or failure of a project, a development project should not place an emphasis on personal characteristics. If so, the designed methodology and approach will be less meaningful. Therefore, the project should be designed in such a way that any development worker, who has been adequately trained in the methodology and approach, and applies it to his/her work, should be able to yield similar results, with minimal effect of his/her personal attributes.

4) Human Resource Development. Nonformal education, as well other development activities, has to gear towards development of human potential and their capability in dealing with confronting problems. People have to be empowered to make a decision by their own through participatory process. Development workers have to ensure that their projects help to change or improve people potential and help empower people to solve problems by their own. This is the ultimate goal of human resource development. If such programs focus only in skills and economic outcomes without placing an emphasis on the equal distribution of benefit to the vast majority of people - the poor, they can do little to improve the quality of life of the people. Without provision of equal access and distribution to rural poor, development activities may simply reinforce/perpetuate inequal structure, or let it to continue indirectly.

However, not all development approaches can be easily put into practice. The issues of empowerment and conscientization, in particular, may be regarded as sensitive in a particular political environment and can hardly gain support. Similarly, other related structural constraints have to be taken into account when designing and implementing development activities. That is, under what circumstances, and to what extent can the new approach actually be implemented. Without this consideration, implementation of the concept/project can be problematic.

Recommendation for Future Research

This study has revealed some points concerning the application of people's participation in a development project in Thailand. However, there are still some other issues that should be further investigated.

1) It is interesting to investigate the long-term effects of this project, particularly in the areas of continuity of occupations and political outcomes. Therefore, it is recommended that a longitudinal study be conducted over the next three or five years to see the long-term effects of the project.

2) A replication of this study should be undertaken in the SNOTRE project in other regions to see whether a similar or different notion of people's participation and associated implementation practices had been operative there. The effects of the projects then can be compared with this study, and explanation can be made about the similarities and differences of the findings.

3) It is recommended that future research examine a project which adopts the radical paradigm of people's participation into practice. This is to find out if the project can actually involve people at the grass-roots level, and see if participation of the disadvantaged group leads to their increased awareness and conscientization and a growth in their power and control over the decision-making process.

4) It is recommended that comparative studies be conducted in different countries and cultures to compare how the notion of participation have been implemented, and what

are the effects of people's participation. Studies of participation in several settings will help to refine and validate the two paradigms of people's participation.

5) In a country that has adopted the modernization paradigm of development, and in the place where political issues are considered sensitive, the adoption of the radical paradigm of people's participation into practice can, sometimes, be practically problematic. It is recommended that a critical examination of the practice of people's participation under the liberal paradigm be conducted. The study should focus on essential factors and strategies that facilitate people's participation under this paradigm of development. The findings of the study can help strengthen the implementation of the concept into practice within the modernization paradigm of development.

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APPENDICES

Appendix I

Interview Guide

(For participants: villagers & local leaders)

General Information

Name/code# ____________

1. Sex	☐ male		☐ female
2. Age	☐ under 20		☐ 21-35 years
	☐ 36-50 years		☐ 51 years and older
3. Education	☐ Illiterate		☐ Primary Ed.
	☐ Higher Primary Ed.		☐ Secondary Ed.
	☐ High School or higher		
4. Marital status	☐ married	☐ single	☐ other

5. How many children do you have? ________

6. Do any of your children work in Bangkok or other city?

☐ yes ☐ no

If yes, reasons for going ________________________________

Do they ever send you money?

☐ Yes ☐ No

7. Your main occupation is

☐ growing rice

☐ raising animals

☐ others (specify) ________________________

8. Apart from you main occupation, what else do you do?

(you can answer more than one).

- ☐ growing rice
- ☐ growing other crops (e.g. corn, peanuts, etc.)
- ☐ raising animals
  - ○ chicken/ducks
  - ○ pigs
  - ○ fish
  - ○ buffaloes/cows
- ☐ employed labour
- ☐ making fishnets
- ☐ growing mushroom
- ☐ making *Saa* paper
- ☐ others (specify) ____________________

9. Do you have any of the following items?

- ☐ radio
- ☐ stereo set
- ☐ rice cooker
- ☐ bicycle
- ☐ watch
- ☐ gas stove
- ☐ gold necklace
- ☐ television
- ☐ video tape recorder/player
- ☐ sewing machine
- ☐ motorcycle
- ☐ car/pick-up
- ☐ ploughing machine
- ☐ others (specify)

10. Do you own your land or you rent someone?

☐ own ☐ rent

How many *rais* do you have?

- ☐ less than 5
- ☐ 6-10
- ☐ 11-20
- ☐ 21-50
- ☐ 51 or more

11. Are you indebted to any person/financial institute?

☐ yes ☐ no

If yes, how much?

- ☐ less than 10,000 baht
- ☐ 10,001-30,000 baht
- ☐ 30,001-50,000 baht
- ☐ 50,001-100,000 baht
- ☐ more than 100,000 baht

11. Are you a member of any group/organization in the village?

☐ yes ☐ no

If yes, what is it?

☐ farmers' group ☐ housewives' group

☐ youth group ☐ others (specify) ________________

12. Prior to the SNOTRE project, did you participate in any of the development projects related to health, education, or agriculture?

☐ yes ☐ no

If yes, what project? ________________

If no, why not? ____________________

13. Are you a community leader?

☐ yes ☐ no

If yes: (1) What is your position? ________________

(2) How long have you been in the position? __________

(3) What is your responsibility? ____________________

Participation

14. When the SNOTRE project was introduced in the village, did you participate in any of the project activities?

☐ yes ☐ no

If yes, in what activities? ________________________________

15. What occupation have you undertaken? ________________________

16. When did you start this occupation? ________________________

17. Why did you decide to participate in the project/activity?

18. How were people's needs identified?

19. Pease tell me how the project activities were initiated and implemented.

20. Who decided what kind of occupations to visit, what kind of vocational training was needed, and who should get project funds?

21. Please describe the process of project activities (e.g. in group meetings, or decision-making process), and what is your role in the processes?

22. What do you think you benefited from your involvement in the project?

23. Do you think you can make a living from this kind of occupation?

24. Did joining this project help increase your income? How much have you earned?

25. What is your understanding of people's participation?

26. What is your opinion about the work of the development workers from the district and province?

27. What is the role of the NFE teacher and coordinator in the SNOTRE project?

28. What are the similarities and differences between this project and other development projects you were involved in the past?

29. After the implementation of the project, has there been any significant change in your family or in the community?
If so, what are they?

Note: This interview schedule was used as a guide to cover the aspects needed to examine. The actual interview was an informal one.

Appendix II

Interview Guide

(For non-participants: villagers & local leaders)

General Information

Name/code# ____________

1. Sex [ ] male [ ] female

2. Age [ ] under 20 [ ] 21-35 years
[ ] 36-50 years [ ] 51 years and older

3. Education [ ] Illiterate [ ] Primary Ed.
[ ] Higher Primary Ed. [ ] Secondary Ed.
[ ] High School or higher

4. Marital status [ ] married [ ] single [ ] other

5. How many children do you have? ________

6. Do any of your children work in Bangkok or other city?
[ ] yes [ ] no
If yes, reasons for going ____________________________________
Do they ever send you money?
[ ] Yes [ ] No

7. Your main occupation is
[ ] growing rice
[ ] raising animals
[ ] others (specify) ________________________

8. Apart from you main occupation, what else do you do?
(you can answer more than one).

[ ] growing rice
[ ] growing other crops (e.g. corn, peanuts, etc.)
[ ] raising animals
    ( ) chicken/ducks
    ( ) pigs
    ( ) fish
    ( ) buffaloes/cows
[ ] employed labour
[ ] making fishnets
[ ] growing mushroom
[ ] making *Saa* paper
[ ] others (specify) ____________________

9. Do you have any of the following items?

[ ] radio
[ ] stereo set
[ ] rice cooker
[ ] bicycle
[ ] watch
[ ] gas stove
[ ] gold necklace
[ ] television
[ ] video tape recorder/player
[ ] sewing machine
[ ] motorcycle
[ ] car/pick-up
[ ] ploughing machine
[ ] others (specify)

10. Do you own your land or you rent someone?

[ ] own [ ] rent

How many *rais* do you have?

[ ] less than 5 [ ] 6-10
[ ] 11-20 [ ] 21-50
[ ] 51 or more

11. Are you indebted to any person/financial institute?

[ ] yes [ ] no

If yes, how much?

[ ] less than 10,000 baht
[ ] 10,001-30,000 baht
[ ] 30,001-50,000 baht
[ ] 50,001-100,000 baht
[ ] more than 100,000 baht

11. Are you a member of any group/organization in the village?
[ ] yes [ ] no
If yes, what is it?
[ ] farmers' group [ ] housewives' group
[ ] youth group [ ] others (specify) ________________

12. Prior to the SNOTRE project, did you participate in any of the development projects related to health, education, or agriculture?
[ ] yes [ ] no
If yes, what project? ________________
If no, why not? ____________________

13. Are you a community leader?
[ ] yes [ ] no
If yes: (1) What is your position? ____________________
(2) How long have you been in the position? __________
(3) What is your responsibility? ______________________

Non-participation

14. When the SNOTRE project was introduced in the village, did you participate in any of the project activities?
[ ] yes [ ] no
If yes, what activities? ____________________________________

15. What were your reasons for not participating in the SNOTRE project?

16. Under what circumstance would you participate in the project?

17. Given a choice to participate in an occupational training, what area of occupation would you prefer? Who would you consult when deciding whether to participate or not?

18. Who do you think benefited from the project?

19. What is your understanding of people's participation?

20. What is the role of the NFE teacher and coordinator in the SNOTRE project?

21. What is your opinion about the work of development workers from the district and from the province?

22. What is the similarities and differences between this project and other development projects that you were involved in the past?

Note: This interview schedule was used as a guide to cover the aspects needed to examine. The actual interview was an informal one.